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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXV

539524

THE "LATIN PEASANTS" OF BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS <i>Oswald Garrison Villard</i>	7
ILLINOIS IN 1941 <i>Mildred Eversole</i>	21
ILLINOIS INDIANS ON THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI, 1771-1782 <i>Stanley Faye</i>	57
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN WAR TIME <i>Richard L. Beyer</i>	107
A FORGOTTEN EVANSTON INSTITUTION: THE NORTHWESTERN FEMALE COLLEGE <i>Dwight F. Clark</i>	115
DID ABRAHAM LINCOLN RECEIVE THE ILLINOIS GERMAN VOTE? <i>Jay Monaghan</i>	133
THE UNIQUE CAREER OF AN ILLINOIS MUSICIAN <i>Lorene Martin</i>	140
AUDUBON'S "JOURNEY UP THE MISSISSIPPI" <i>Edited by John Francis McDermott</i>	148
THE ILLINOIS HISTORICAL RECORDS SURVEY: A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ITS PUBLICATIONS <i>Thomas R. Hall</i>	174
OUR NATIONAL IGNORANCE: AN EDITORIAL <i>Paul M. Angle</i>	213
GALESBURG: HOT-BED OF ABOLITIONISM <i>Hermann R. Muelder</i>	216
EARLY SETTLERS OF THE ROCK RIVER VALLEY <i>Clyde E. Buckingham</i>	236

ANTON C. HESING: THE RISE OF A CHICAGO BOSS	
<i>Peter H. Olden</i>	260
ONE HYPHENATED AMERICAN	
<i>Edith Steinbrecher</i>	321
HISTORY IN WAR TIME	
<i>H. Gary Hudson and Walter B. Hendrickson</i>	323
ILLINOIS AT WEST POINT: HER GRADUATES IN THE CIVIL WAR	
<i>George T. Ness, Jr.</i>	338
COLONEL JAMES W. STEPHENSON: GALENA PIONEER	
<i>Jeanne LeBron</i>	347
HISTORY OF THE ILLINOIS SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF	
<i>Minnie Wait Cleary</i>	368
HISTORICAL NOTES	
<i>Milton H. Shutes</i> , "The Last Resting Place of Edward D. Baker"	73
<i>John Van Horne</i> , "Illinois in the Eyes of a Visiting Scholar" . .	74
<i>Margaret Carlock Harris</i> , "What's in a Name?"	180
<i>Ruth Ewers Haberkorn</i> , "The First Ordained Congregational Woman Minister in the United States"	288
"As Others See Us"	294
<i>James Taft Hatfield</i> , "The 'Abraham Lincoln House' in Evanston, Illinois"	390
<i>Lorene Martin</i> , "The Carl Beane Chandler Cenotaph"	393
<i>Albert Post</i> , "Lincoln and the Reverend Dr. James Smith" . .	397
THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK	77, 184, 296, 400
NEWS AND COMMENT	83, 194, 301, 404
CONTRIBUTORS	99, 205, 314, 417

TABLE OF CONTENTS ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

THE "LATIN PEASANTS" OF BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS <i>Oswald Garrison Villard</i>	7
--	---

ILLINOIS IN 1941 <i>Mildred Eversole</i>	21
---	----

ILLINOIS INDIANS ON THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI, 1771-1782 <i>Stanley Faye</i>	57
---	----

HISTORICAL NOTES <i>Milton H. Shutes</i> , "The Last Resting Place of Edward D. Baker".....	73
<i>John Van Horne</i> , "Illinois in the Eyes of a Visiting Scholar" ..	74

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK.....	77
-----------------------------	----

NEWS AND COMMENT.....	83
-----------------------	----

CONTRIBUTORS.....	99
-------------------	----

ILLUSTRATIONS ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞

THEODOR HILGARD, 1790-1873..... 10

GUSTAV KOERNER, 1809-1896..... 14

HENRY VILLARD, 1835-1900..... 18

THE "LATIN PEASANTS" OF BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS *

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

THE Latin peasants (*Latinische Bauer*) who settled in and about Belleville, Illinois, in the 1830's and 1840's were neither Latin nor peasants. They were so designated because they were Germans of education and often high intellectual standing, who knew their Latin and Greek. This group came chiefly from the Palatinate, Rhenish Bavaria, because of their republican convictions, because they sought freedom and escape from the prevailing black political reaction and autocracy. Their less educated fellow-immigrants regarded them askance when they came into St. Clair County, purchased land, and sought to become farmers—farmers with soft hands. Inexperienced in or ignorant of husbandry, even as it was practiced in Germany, they rarely adjusted themselves to American farming conditions. Noblemen, doctors, lawyers and judges, former university professors and school teachers, as well as business men of a fine type, these men were all drawn to Belleville not merely because so many of its inhabitants had come like themselves from the Palatinate, but because of the universal use of the mother tongue, and because the whole colony held to the same republican ideals and believed that they had found their promised land in the United States.

* Parts of this article appeared originally in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, Oct. 5, 1941. Published by permission.

The Belleville settlement was not one of those deliberately planned to perpetuate Germanism on American soil in the false hope that some one state, or that many communities in one of our states, would become German oases or even a little new Germany. On the contrary, the Belleville leaders became American and wished Americanization for their town and neighborhood.¹ Yet it is a fact that until the turn of the present century more German was spoken in Belleville than English. Even the Negro servants spoke German, and the pastors preached their sermons in German for seventy years. There were German-language schools and German-language newspapers until comparatively recent times. It was probably the first World War that brought about the final change, or at least hastened it. But the great changes in social life and in economic conditions, and notably the automobile and the movies, would have made the changes inevitable. Today the Americanization of Belleville and St. Clair County is complete, and only a few of the oldest people still speak German habitually.

Not all the peasants had to leave Germany for their health after participating in the various attempts at revolution. Indeed, the earlier immigrants, like relatives of the writer who reached Belleville in 1836, had not been active revolutionists, but had given up fine prospects at home and immigrated voluntarily because they felt that they were stifled in the reactionary Germany and Europe of that day. Thus, there was a great stir in 1830 in the little Palatinate town of Zweibruecken, which lately has figured in the news of two

¹ Compare John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America* (New York, 1940), 126-27 ff.

world wars, when it became known that Theodor Hilgard, a great-uncle of the writer, then a justice of the Court of Appeals in Zweibruecken, had decided to abandon his most promising and assured legal career to emigrate to the United States. Other residents of Zweibruecken, and many from the neighborhood had left or were planning to go to the wilds of America, but some of them were restless and unsettled persons, and still others were plain, untutored peasants lured by the promise of practically free land, by freedom from the harassments of life in Europe and the ever present threat of war.

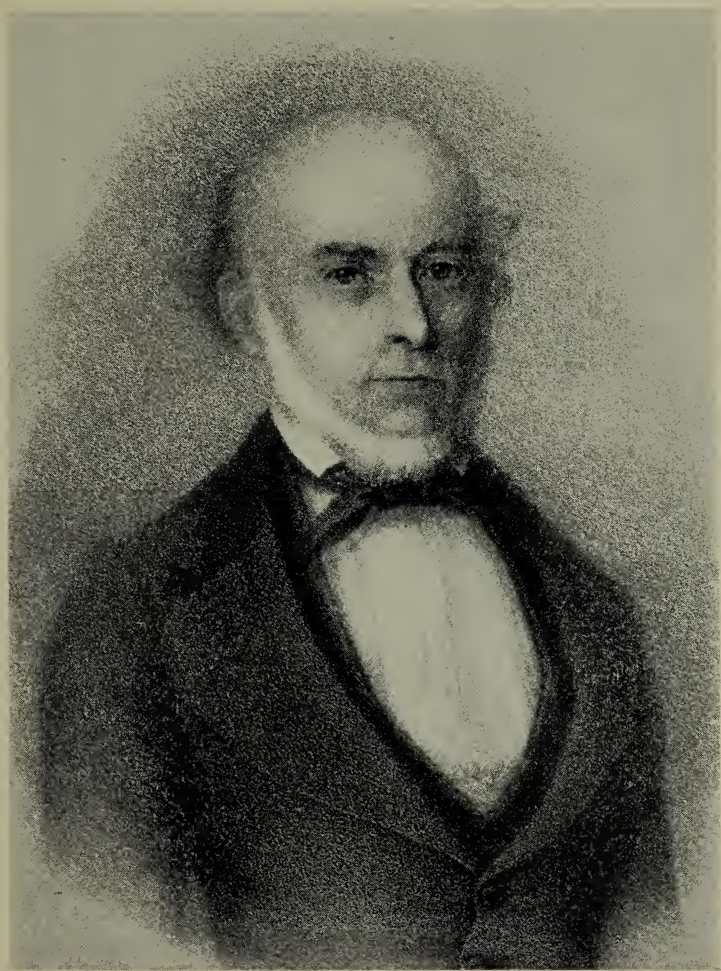
Theodor Hilgard was different. He was an official of the state and in addition was well-to-do. He was forty years of age and had a wife and no less than nine children as hostages of fortune. What was even more striking was that his decision was due simply and solely to an intellectual conviction. He was a convinced democrat and believer in republican institutions, who had followed the republican and revolutionary currents in France as well as in Germany with an ardor hardly in keeping with a judicial career. Others of his large family connection preceded Theodor Hilgard and helped him to fix his destination—St. Louis. But it actually took him five years to make the break with a life marked, as he himself wrote, by "such lovely and honorable circumstances."

His official leave-taking was made harder by a farewell official banquet given him by the municipality, which touched him so deeply that he could hardly voice his gratitude when his turn came to speak. "His sound knowledge, his courage and ability in public relations, his fine stand as a civic force, his high ethical stan-

dards," an inscription at the banquet read, "will be his passport and his security in every hemisphere." He took with him a letter from no less a person than Lafayette, whom he did not know personally, but who wrote to him through the medium of a distinguished French friend, that he hoped his (Lafayette's) words would contribute something to Hilgard's task of becoming adjusted in the United States, "that great and excellent country of liberty." The "Landrath" in Zweibruecken, that is the provincial assembly, recorded, on the judge's resignation, that his loss was "almost irreplaceable" and spoke of his "model character" and "numerous talents."

There being no railroads, this large family embarked in two large wagons, with one man-servant, for Havre, which they reached safely in the short period of eight days. They sailed on October 22, 1835, for New Orleans, a voyage of no less than sixty-three days, in an American ship which duly transferred them to a little Mississippi River steamer. When they reached St. Louis, then a metropolis of 10,000 inhabitants, they had been more than three and one-half months on the way from Zweibruecken. St. Louis might have lured them and perhaps should have. Instead, following the example of their relatives who had preceded them, they crossed the Mississippi to settle in Belleville.

Two leaders of the Belleville colony and their families gave an especially warm welcome to the Hilgard immigrants, Gustav Koerner, and Friedrich Engelmann who was an uncle of Theodor Hilgard. From the minute of his arrival Gustav Koerner threw himself wholeheartedly into American life and, being an effective speaker in both English and German, speedily became



THEODOR HILGARD, 1790-1873

much better known than perhaps anyone else in the Belleville community. Koerner, like Hilgard, had been trained as a jurist in Germany. When a practicing attorney in Frankfurt-on-the-Main, he was compelled to flee after the unsuccessful republican uprising in that city in 1833 with which he was completely in sympathy. So great did he feel his debt to the United States that he was impelled to show his gratitude by helping to make the political life of his community and his state as worthwhile as possible.² He joined the Democratic Party in Belleville, was elected successively to both houses of the legislature, and was appointed a circuit judge and later a member of the Supreme Court of Illinois. He was also chosen Lieutenant Governor of the state and therefore ex-officio president of the Illinois Senate.

But when his party followed the pro-slavery policies of Pierce and Buchanan he broke loose and was conspicuous in the work of founding the new Republican Party. In the course of this undertaking he became the warm friend of Abraham Lincoln to whom he so endeared himself that the martyr President sent him in 1862 as Minister to Madrid in succession to that other great German-American, Carl Schurz, who resigned in order to become a general in the Army of the Potomac. What was true of Koerner was true of almost the whole Belleville colony when the Civil War came. The "Latin Peasants" especially were passionately on the side of Lincoln, and many like Friedrich Hecker, also a refugee from Frankfurt, volunteered and served throughout the war. Despite the fact that the farmer who refused to

² Gustav Koerner's extremely valuable *Memoirs*, edited by T. J. McCormack, were published in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, in 1909.

own slaves in Missouri was greatly handicapped because of the difficulty of getting any other kind of labor, according to Gustav Koerner himself not a single one of the German farmers in that state would own other human beings.

One of the finest of the "Latin Peasant" families was that of Friedrich Engelman. On his farm five miles out from Belleville he lived a really patriarchal life with his wife and eight children. None welcomed the Hilgard immigrants as warmly, and no others won as high a position in the community and were as much sought after. Years afterward Theodor Hilgard explained this success on the ground that the Engelmans had faced the new country with full and grateful hearts, and had gladly accepted the very great difficulties and hardships with which they had at first to contend as a not unreasonable price to pay for freedom and the advantages of life in America. Unlike many others, they never allowed the hardships and disappointments and the radical alteration of their method of living to become the source of bitter discontent and unmeasured fault-finding.

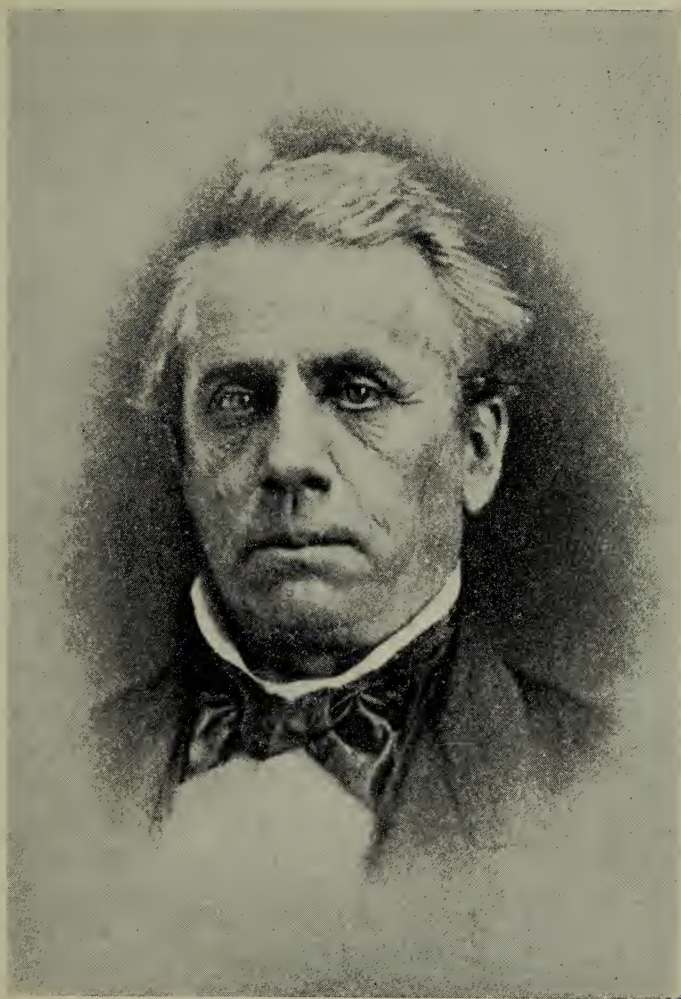
It is not wholly surprising that many of the families were unhappy and failed to adjust themselves readily. The process of readjustment to life in any new country is never easy, especially for intellectuals. But the very cheerfulness of the Engelmans won them the friendship and good will of their American neighbors, whereas the fault-finders naturally repelled the natives. Theodor Hilgard was impressed by the fact that those who had not been particularly prosperous in Germany succeeded better than the previously well-to-do, and he quoted a well-known saying of his time: "Who comes

to America poor becomes rich; who comes to America rich becomes poor." The poor knew how to work, knew how to save and to make every dollar count, and they were much cannier in entering into business relations with other settlers, and especially the Americans. The greatest failures were the members of the nobility who sought to acclimate themselves to a democracy. They did not succeed.

When this writer's father, Henry Villard, visited Belleville in 1855 he was struck by the fact that only two of the intellectual group of immigrants had succeeded as farmers. One of these was Friedrich Hecker, also a political refugee, who had played a distinguished role in Frankfurt-on-the-Main, and later served in the Federal Army. The Latin Peasants knew nothing whatever about breaking in new land except that they chose the high land, while the native American settlers chose the low land, often swampy, with the result that they paid a high price in frequent attacks of chills and fever. Friedrich Engelmann also placed the professional and educated German low on the list of efficient farmers, but maintained that the German who had been an expert farmer before immigration was the most successful settler because of his knowledge and his readiness to work hard and long, whereas many of the American settlers were shiftless, easily discouraged and ready to move on from place to place. Gradually the intellectuals drifted from the farms into the cities or, if they continued to live upon the farms, like Gustav Koerner, they made their living in Belleville. Theodor Hilgard, not being a success as a farmer, made some money by helping to found West Belleville and selling lots at the front of his farm to new arrivals.

He made the interesting experiment of trying to introduce vineyards and to repeat the great success of the Palatinate in producing fine wines. After seven or eight years of intense labor he found that the transplanted Rhenish grapevines could not stand the American winter. Switching to American grapes, he began producing a wine which he called "Hilgardsberger." Though he had some early successes, he finally was compelled to abandon the enterprise. All his efforts proved to be in vain because of various blights and the intense cold of the Illinois winters of that period.

While there were constant accessions to this group after 1835, the arrival of the so-called "Forty-Eighters" in 1849 and 1850 brought rather a new element into the community. Dr. Hawgood declares that they were "more numerous and consequently more mixed than the earlier arrivals." Many of them, who had barely escaped with their lives, came less with the intention of making permanent homes in the United States than with the idea of having a temporary haven until the overthrow of German autocracy, for which they still hoped despite the quick defeat of the rebellion. Having been more militant and ready to risk more at home than their predecessors in the Belleville settlement, they were more ready, perhaps, to turn to political life, as did Carl Schurz in Wisconsin where he was nearly elected lieutenant-governor before he had even become naturalized. From this group came, too, most of the men of German birth who became prominent in the northern army during the Civil War. They, like the earlier arrivals, were quick to join the new Republican Party. I think it is only fair to say of this whole Belleville group that they had a higher sense of civic responsi-



GUSTAV KOERNER, 1809-1896

bility than the native American. They had made great sacrifices and usually endured great hardships in order to become Americans, and they were profoundly grateful for the sanctuary they found. Hence many of them, like Henry Villard, had an abiding sense that they owed a great debt of gratitude to their adopted country which could not be paid off save by making every effort to serve it and advance it.

Theodor Hilgard described this attitude excellently in his *Memoirs*, in which he wrote: "It was always my belief that anybody who wishes to become a member of another state should take part in the public life of his adopted country with all his heart. If he does not do that, then neither interest in nor love for his new homeland will develop in him."³ He was certain that if the immigrant did not deliberately seek to take part in every civic activity he would always feel himself a stranger and be the victim of discontent. He had no sympathy with the effort to establish pure German colonies, but he did feel that immigrants had the right to keep alive their knowledge of their original language and to preserve the best that there was in their German culture, side by side with acquiring a knowledge, an understanding and an appreciation of the so very different cultures around them. So he insisted that German be spoken in his family and that it should be kept pure and not adulterated by the introduction of English words, as was customary among the members of many German-American communities, so that they spoke neither language, but a dreadful dialect. He eagerly contributed to a German publication, *Das Westland*, in order to present

³ See *Meine Erinnerungen* by Theodor Hilgard, the Elder; privately published (Heidelberg, 1858).

favorably American life and conditions to German readers in the old country, and to encourage the right kind of immigration.

In his *Memoirs* Theodor Hilgard admitted that it was a great mistake that he personally had not made more American friends and taken a greater part in the life of the community and of the state. He laid his blunder to his inability to master English rapidly, as did his children. He had had quite a reputation as a public speaker in Germany and that stood in his way in his new home, for he did not wish to take part in public life until he could do so with distinction, or at least with complete mastery of the new idiom. But this disadvantage did not keep him from publishing a booklet in German called *A Voice From North America* in which he warmly expounded and advocated the American political system. In another book he demanded the creation of a United States of Germany with a republican form of government—which, unhappily, did not come to Germany until 1918 and then only briefly.

The relations of the Latin Peasants, and indeed of all the educated Germans with their American neighbors, were always difficult. They found the natives unintellectual and uninteresting, lacking in social graces, provincial in bearing and knowledge, and naturally entirely ignorant of the European world which the Germans had just left, with its wars and its monarchies, its petty satraps and its balance of power, its Metternichs and Napoleons. This, together with the language stumbling block, made intercourse between the two groups very difficult. Koerner wrote: "Most Europeans, and the Germans above all, would be unhappy in a most fertile country, if for a long time and perhaps forever, they

were deprived of most of the amenities of life and of all social intercourse."⁴ He severely criticized Gottfried Duden, an early apostle of German settlements in the Missouri Valley, for having idealized pioneer conditions and induced Germans to settle in regions for which they were not suited—there is not a single great German explorer, discoverer or pioneer.

The very lack of the same language medium contributed to the friction and mutual dislike, not to say contempt, which were noticeable in most American communities where there was an influx of foreigners, whatever the country of their origin. The failure of most of the Germans to understand and appreciate American conditions led in part to this friction, and also impelled the German immigrants to continue their German habits and culture as much as possible. They were driven in upon themselves. As Dr. Hawgood has put it:

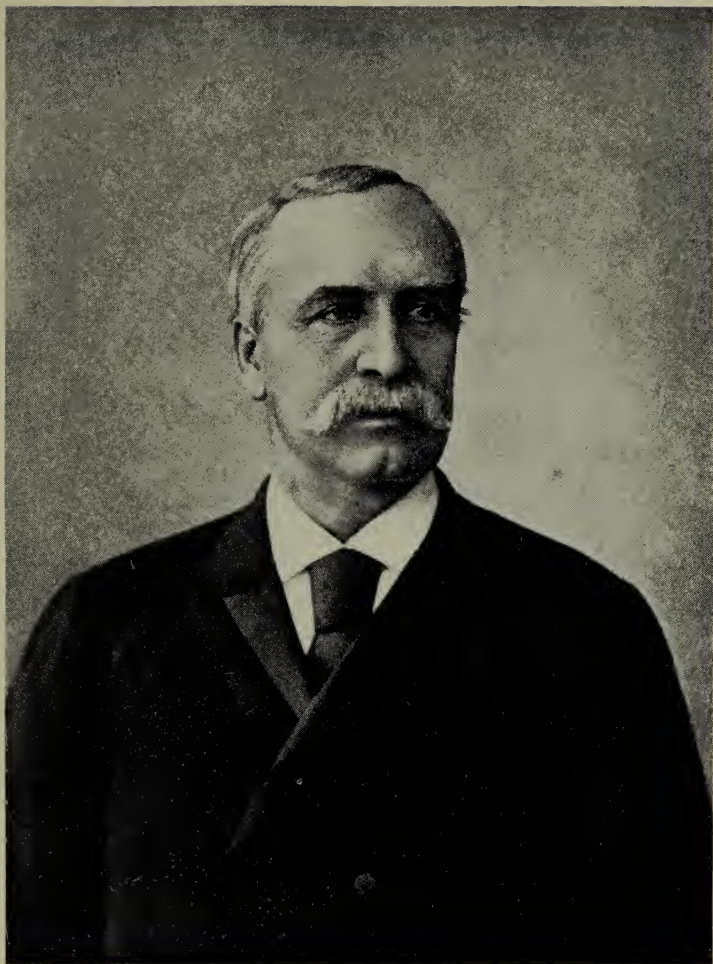
What is here relevant is the fact that an unfavorable impression of American cultural standards and social habits provoked in the German immigrants an aloof and superior attitude which not only set up in them a strong resistance to Americanization and assimilation, but made them unpopular with the native-born Americans side by side with whom they had made their new home, and lessened the willingness of the native-born Americans, in their turn, to respect or to understand the Germans. It was a vicious circle, and some of its results were most unfortunate.

But the Germans admired profoundly the native shrewdness of the Americans, their "superiority in practical things" as Theodor Hilgard put it, their ability to get ahead and make money, their evenness of temperament so different from that of the Germans, the easy way in which they adjusted themselves to trying con-

⁴ G. E. Engelmann and Gustav Koerner, "Zur Geschichte der ersten deutschen Ansiedlungen in Illinois," published in the *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois*, Vol. XVI (Jan., 1916), 248-333.

ditions, and their ability to pull up stakes and move on if their first choice of land proved unsatisfactory. With the lapse of time, however, the relations of the two groups naturally improved. The great depression of 1857 equally affected both groups, and gave them a fellow-feeling. The eagerness with which the Belleville community threw itself into the Abolition movement, joined the new Republican Party, and demonstrated its loyalty by enlisting in large numbers in the Union Army, all tended to wipe out the differences. Gradually the two groups came closer together and began to intermarry.

Henry Villard reported that at the time of his visit in 1855 the town had grown to between 6,000 and 7,000 inhabitants. By this time the original German settlers had pretty well got over the homesickness which had led some of the weaker ones to return to Germany and to report that America was no place whatsoever for German settlers. Outwardly Belleville looked like a typical German village with its German signs and its German beer gardens. Villard did not find any special external attractions in the settlement, which has outwardly never risen much, if any, above the commonplace. But this young visitor was impressed with the intellectual life and by the fact that the homes were furnished with furniture brought from Germany, and that the domestic life was still precisely like that which he had left a year before in the Palatinate. Much as he enjoyed the kindly and happy home life of Theodor Hilgard, who was his uncle, and the companionship of his young cousins, Henry Villard betook himself soon to a purely American community because he became convinced that he would never master the English language—as he did to a remarkable degree—unless he resided



HENRY VILLARD, 1835-1900

where he would hear nothing else, and could learn to think in English.⁵

As for Theodor Hilgard, he returned in 1856 to Germany for a visit, with the firm intention of later returning to America. The coming of the Civil War and certain family changes prevented his return to the United States, but never induced him to give up his American citizenship. He remained an ardent champion of the American experiment until his death. He had, however, made an important contribution to American life in the persons of three of his sons. One of them, Julius Hilgard, became in due course the head of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, as did later Otto Tittmann, a member of another branch of the family. Another son, William Hilgard, became a distinguished physician in St. Louis, while a third, and the most brilliant of the entire family, Eugene, became a great teacher and scientist. A man of extraordinary learning in many fields, his memory is commemorated at the University of California by the building which bears his name. He is still remembered throughout the state as the father of modern California agriculture. Few men have contributed more in their lifetime as modestly and with as great devotion to American scientific life. The Civil War found him a teacher in a Mississippi college, and there he remained until it ended.

Eugene Hilgard, in the respect that he served the Confederacy, was a rare exception. Nearly all of the descendants of the "Latin Peasants" followed the flag of the North. Distinguished among these was young Adolphus

⁵ See *Memoirs of Henry Villard* (Boston, 1904). Henry Villard, who was born Heinrich Hilgard, changed his name on coming to the United States and later became famous as a Civil War correspondent, friend of Lincoln, the completer of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and head of numerous other railroad and electrical companies.

Engelmann, the son of Friedrich Engelmann, who was born in 1825. He was a lieutenant in a regiment of Illinois volunteers during the Mexican War in which he was severely wounded at the Battle of Cerro Gordo. In 1848, while visiting in Germany, he volunteered and served in the war against Denmark. When the Civil War came he volunteered soon after the attack on Sumter, enlisting on April 27, 1861, and becoming successively lieutenant-colonel and colonel of the Forty-Third Regiment of Illinois Volunteers with which he was mustered out in Arkansas on February 3, 1865, receiving the brevet of brigadier-general for especially meritorious services.⁶ Theodore, the elder son of Friedrich Engelmann, a promising cadet at West Point, died there in his second year of service. The Forty-Third Illinois Regiment was almost entirely raised in St. Clair County, and the great majority of the men in it were of German stock if they were not actually born abroad. They needed no draft to make them offer their lives to their government. It is a fact, too, that none were so quick to offer their services in the first World War as were the descendants of the Hilgards and Engelmanns in Missouri and Illinois. They wanted nobody to doubt the quality of their loyalty.

⁶ For Colonel Engelmann's Mexican War letters see *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXVI, no. 4 (Jan., 1934), 357-452.

ILLINOIS IN 1941

BY MILDRED EVERSOLE

JANUARY 8

The sixty-second General Assembly convenes in Springfield. Arnold P. Benson, Batavia, is chosen president pro tempore of the Senate and Elmer J. Schnackenberg, Chicago, is made Speaker of the House. The proposed budget for the biennium is submitted by Governor John Stelle.

JANUARY 9

Three thousand employees of the city of Chicago strike in opposition to the proposed reduction in salaries of those earning over \$3,000. City Hall is without heat and light and all traffic signal lights in the Loop are stopped. After five and one-half hours the strike is ended by compromise.

JANUARY 10

Edward A. Renwick dies at his home in Evanston at the age of eighty. He had been an architect in Chicago for fifty-eight years, most of that time associated with or a member of the firm of Holabird & Roche, later Holabird & Root.

Fire destroys three large warehouses at the Gibson Canning Company, Gibson City. The loss, including packing machinery and canned goods, is estimated at \$500,000.

JANUARY 13

Dwight H. Green becomes Governor of Illinois. Other new state officers include: Hugh Cross, lieutenant-governor; Arthur C. Lueder, auditor; Warren Wright, treasurer; and George F. Barrett, attorney general. Edward J. Hughes, secretary of state, continues in the office he has held since 1933.

JANUARY 14

Governor Green names eight new directors for code departments of Illinois: Public Welfare, Rodney Brandon, Batavia; Registration and Education, Frank G. Thompson, Mt. Vernon; Conservation, Livingston E. Osborne, Highland Park; Insurance, Paul Jones, Danville; Finance, George B. McKibben, Chicago; Public Works and Buildings, Walter A. Rosenfield, Rock Island; Agriculture, Howard Leonard, Eureka; Mines and Minerals, Robert Medill, Peoria.

JANUARY 15

Legislative bills appropriating \$30,225,000 in deficiency funds for continued payment of relief, old age assistance and blind pensions until June 30 are signed by Governor Green. Of this amount, \$20,300,000 is to be expended for relief, \$9,350,000 for old age assistance, and \$575,000 for pensions for the blind.

Harry P. Weber, seventy-one year old attorney and traction expert, dies in Chicago. He was formerly general counsel for the Chicago City Railway Company and more recently general counsel for the Chicago Surface Lines.

Permission to drill an oil well in the city of Mt. Carmel

is granted by the council of that city. This will be the first well within Mt. Carmel's city limits.

JANUARY 16

A strike is called at the plant of the International Harvester Company at East Moline by the Employees' Association, an independent union.

JANUARY 17

The day-old strike at the East Moline plant of the International Harvester Company spreads; members of the C.I.O. Farm Equipment Workers' Organizing Committee also walk out.

Traffic is impeded throughout the state by snow and ice. Highways are in a hazardous condition and airplane travel is almost completely stopped by snow and fog.

JANUARY 20

A strike is called at the International Harvester Company plant at Rock Falls by members of the C.I.O. Farm Equipment Workers' Organizing Committee. Union demands include recognition in six plants, ten cents an hour increase in wages, a minimum of seventy-five cents per hour and discontinuance of piecework payment on assembly lines.

JANUARY 21

Seven hundred and fifty members of the International Brotherhood of Book Binders strike at the Cuneo Press, Inc., in Chicago. They demand wage increases of fifteen cents an hour. Twelve hundred other employees are thrown out of work by the strike.

The Air Corps Technical School at Chanute Field sets

its goal for 1941 at 2,500 trained men a month. A year ago only 900 were trained in twelve months. Expanded facilities of the school, costing over fifteen million dollars, are expected to make such an increase possible.

JANUARY 22

The strike of book binders at the Cuneo Press in Chicago is ended. A contract granting a closed shop, seniority rights and pay increases averaging six cents per hour is signed.

JANUARY 23

Thomas G. Philfeldt, city engineer of bridges in Chicago, dies at his home at the age of eighty-two. Since becoming associated with the bureau of engineering in 1894 he had supervised the construction of some fifty bridges in the city.

JANUARY 25

Alonzo Clark Mather, president of the Mather Stock Car Company, Chicago, and builder of the Mather Tower Building in that city, dies in Los Angeles. He was the designer of a spacious, well-ventilated livestock car.

JANUARY 26

Fourteen hundred strikers at the East Moline plant of the International Harvester Company agree to return to work. Full operation of the plant will be reached by January 29 and settlement will be made later. Bargaining and seniority rights and increased wages are points at issue.

JANUARY 29

Fifty-five hundred employees of the tractor works of the International Harvester Company in Chicago walk out.

The strike is called by members of the Farm Equipment Workers' Organizing Committee who demand elimination of piecework, minimum rates of pay of sixty-five cents per hour for women and seventy-five for men, and protection of seniority for men called to military service.

JANUARY 31

Governor Green signs the Chicago school pegged levy bill, passed by the legislature to assure payment of Chicago teachers' salaries. The measure sets the annual education levy at \$52,000,000.

Jacob J. Kern, Chicago lawyer, dies at the age of seventy-eight. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1890 to 1892, and state's attorney of Cook County from 1892 to 1896.

FEBRUARY 2

Salmon O. Levinson, member of the Chicago bar for fifty years, dies. He was also a widely known peace advocate and wrote numerous articles on the outlawry of war.

Rear Admiral Harris Laning, native of Petersburg, dies in Philadelphia. He was commandant of the United States Navy Yard in New York before his retirement in 1937 and since that time had served as governor of the United States Navy Home, Philadelphia.

FEBRUARY 3

Seven hundred and fifty of the 1,000 employees of the American Car and Foundry Company at Madison strike for twenty per cent wage increases, a union shop, vacations with pay and special considerations for drafted men.

FEBRUARY 4

Louis L. Emmerson, secretary of state in Illinois from 1917 to 1929 and governor from 1929 to 1933, dies at his home in Mt. Vernon. He was born at Albion, Illinois in 1863 and moved to Mt. Vernon at the age of twenty.

FEBRUARY 7

Striking employees of the American Car and Foundry Company at Madison agree to return to work on February 10. Workers are to vote later on the question of representation by the C.I.O. Amalgamated Association of Steel Iron and Tin Workers or the A.F.L. Brotherhood of Railway Carmen.

FEBRUARY 12

Observance of the one hundred and thirty-second anniversary of Lincoln's birthday includes programs at his tomb in Springfield and also in various other cities of the state.

FEBRUARY 14

Seven men are killed in an explosion at the United Electric Coal Company's Fidelity plant near DuQuoin. The company is engaged in the manufacture of liquid oxygen explosives.

Filing of the will of Alonzo Clark Mather, who died on January 25, reveals the fact that nearly four-fifths of his estimated \$5,000,000 estate was bequeathed to the Alonzo Mather Aged Ladies' Home in Chicago.

Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington, announces sweeping changes in its liberal arts college. Three main divisions of study—natural science, social science and

the humanities—will be offered, thereby eliminating boundary lines between departments.

FEBRUARY 17

Camp Grant, transformed into a complete military unit in less than three months, reopens as an army reception center.

FEBRUARY 18

Governor Green submits the following appointments to the Illinois Senate for confirmation: members of the tax commission—Phillip W. Collins, Chicago (chairman), Richard J. Lyons, Libertyville, and Paul Rosenquist, Rockford; manager of the Illinois State Fair—William V. Ward, Bloomington; state purchasing agent—Colonel Edward Davis, Chicago. The Senate approves all appointments.

FEBRUARY 21

Harry J. Powers, retired theatrical manager, dies in Morristown, New Jersey, at the age of eighty-two. Starting his career as an usher in 1877, he became the owner and operator of several theaters in Chicago.

FEBRUARY 23

The Reverend Dr. Wallace Edmonds Conkling of Philadelphia is consecrated as the seventh Episcopal bishop of Chicago at the age of forty-four. He succeeds the late Bishop George Craig Stewart who died on May 2, 1940.

FEBRUARY 25

June C. Smith, Centralia Republican, defeats Franklin R. Dove, Shelbyville Democrat, in an election to the Illinois Supreme Court in the second judicial district. Justice Smith will fill the vacancy caused by the death

of Justice Norman L. Jones of Carrollton on November 15, 1940.

FEBRUARY 26

Memorial exercises for the late Governor Horner are held by both houses of the Illinois General Assembly, meeting in joint session. Governor Dwight H. Green delivers the main address.

FEBRUARY 27

Albert Morris Bagby, native of Rushville, Illinois, dies in New York City. A musician and author, he was the originator of "Musical Morning" programs conducted in New York since 1891.

FEBRUARY 28

The new reserve militia of Illinois is mustered into service in forty-eight cities of the state. It will serve as a "home guard" while the Illinois National Guard is in the federal service.

The C.I.O. union calls a strike at the McCormick works of the International Harvester Company, Chicago, which employs 6,000 men. Principal demands made by the union are elimination of piecework, protection and compensation for conscripted men, increased hourly minimum pay rates and recognition of the union. This is the fourth plant of this company—and the second in Illinois—to be affected by labor troubles this year.

MARCH 1

The International Harvester Company, Chicago, announces that the McCormick works will be closed indefinitely because of labor troubles.

MARCH 2

Discovery of a seventh oil producing formation in the Calvin field in White County has been announced. This new formation, the Waltersburg sand, is tapped for the first time by N. V. and Walter Duncan's No. 1 Bramlett well.

MARCH 3

Miss Clara Laughlin, writer and travel expert, dies in Chicago. She was the author of the *So You're Going* series of books and founder and director of the Clara Laughlin Travel Services.

MARCH 4

Emil Rudolph, pioneer Chicago surveyor, dies at the age of eighty-five. He was surveyor for the Union Station, the straightening of the Chicago River and many other Chicago projects.

MARCH 5

The 33rd Division, Illinois National Guard, comprising 12,000 men and officers, is inducted into federal service for one year's training. Induction ceremonies are held in some fifty armories throughout the state.

MARCH 6

Gutzon Borglum, sculptor, dies in Chicago at the age of seventy. Creator of numerous statues and monuments, his most famous work is the nearly completed Mt. Rushmore Memorial carved in a granite mountain-side of the Black Hills of South Dakota. His home was in Stamford, Connecticut.

MARCH 8

Leroy M. Green, serving his ninth term in the Illinois legislature, dies in Rockford. Except for 1936-1937, he

had been a member of the House of Representatives continuously since 1922.

MARCH 10

Daniel Peterkin, Sr., president of the Morton Salt Company since 1930, dies at his home in Chicago. Born in Aberdeen, Scotland, in 1872, he came to this country in 1892. Since 1896 he had been connected with the Morton company.

MARCH 21

Addis E. McKinstry, chairman of the executive committee and a director of the International Harvester Company, dies at his home in Hinsdale. At the age of sixteen he went to work for the Deering Company. When that company merged with the International Harvester in 1902 he became a member of the latter organization.

MARCH 22

The Illinois Reserve Militia is ready for action, according to Major General John V. Clinnin. It now comprises 4,135 enlisted men and 341 officers, but it is expected that a strength of 6,000 men and 350 officers will eventually be reached.

MARCH 23

Theodore Wesley Koch, librarian of Northwestern University since 1919, dies at his home in Evanston. He was the author of numerous books on library subjects.

Herman A. De Vry, pioneer in the use of motion pictures for educational purposes, dies in Chicago at the age of sixty-five. He was president of the De Vry Corporation, manufacturers of motion picture equipment.

MARCH 24

John D. Biggs, Greenville, is appointed chairman of the Illinois Commerce Commission to succeed Major General Roy D. Keehn, resigned.

A portrait of the late United States Senator James Hamilton Lewis, whose death occurred on April 9, 1939, is dedicated in the Illinois Statehouse. This painting, done by Louis Betts, was authorized by the sixty-first General Assembly.

MARCH 28

Dr. William Henry Walsh, consulting expert on hospital planning and organization, dies in Chicago, aged fifty-nine. He had served as advisor to various national, state and local governments not only in the United States but also in Canada and Latin America.

MARCH 31

Members of the Farm Equipment Workers' Organizing Committee return to work at the International Harvester Company plant in Chicago after a two months' strike. All plants of the company will be kept open until a final settlement is reached.

Eugene Davenport, professor and dean emeritus of the University of Illinois College of Agriculture, dies at his home at Woodland, Michigan. He retired in 1922 after being a member of the faculty for twenty-seven years.

Charles Adkins dies at his home in Decatur at the age of seventy-eight. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives, 1906-1912, and of Congress, 1924-1932.

APRIL 1

Illinois coal mines cease operation due to the failure of mine unions and operators to agree on an extension of old contracts.

APRIL 2

Governor Green signs a bill appropriating \$185,800 in emergency funds to equip the state's reserve militia. After July 1 additional funds will be available for this purpose.

APRIL 3

Many striking Illinois coal miners go back to work when the United Mine Workers and Progressive Mine Workers unions sign extension agreements with several operators. Others are still out on strike.

APRIL 4

Rainfall of nearly two inches in various parts of southern Illinois brings relief from the long drought. Restrictions on the use of water have been in effect in various cities during the past few months.

APRIL 7

Dr. Charles Joseph Whalen, Chicago physician and former commissioner of health, dies at the age of seventy-two. He was editor of the *Illinois Medical Journal* and past president of the Chicago and Illinois medical societies.

APRIL 9

Governor Green presents the proposed budget for the biennium to a joint assembly of the Illinois Senate and House.

APRIL 10

The Illinois Supreme Court rules that public utilities are obligated to remove equipment from city streets when their franchises are terminated. This decision reverses the ruling of a lower court denying the municipalities of Geneseo and Heyworth the right to force such removal.

APRIL 15

A. L. Bowen, former director of the state department of public welfare, is absolved by the Illinois Supreme Court of responsibility for the 1939 typhoid fever epidemic at Manteno State Hospital. Reversing the decision of the Kankakee County Circuit Court, the Supreme Court declares that the state did not prove that contaminated drinking water caused the epidemic.

The Illinois Supreme Court rules that industrial concerns are liable for payment of the three per cent sales tax on food sold to their employees in company operated lunch rooms. The case reverses the decision of the Cook County superior court which had enjoined the state from collecting the tax on food served by the Continental Can and eleven other companies.

APRIL 17

A bill providing for a state council of defense to cooperate with national and local defense councils is signed by Governor Green. An emergency clause places it in effect immediately.

APRIL 18

The International Harvester Company, Chicago, announces a wage increase of five cents an hour, retroactive

to April 14, for its 42,000 manufacturing department employees in the United States. The company is still negotiating with the C. I. O. Farm Equipment Workers' Organizing Committee, which has been asking increases of ten cents an hour.

Francis J. Sullivan, member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1898 to 1902, dies at his home in Evanston.

APRIL 19

Recent rains, especially heavy during the past two days, bring an end to the nineteen-month drought in Illinois. Tornadic winds strike several communities, causing heavy damage to scores of dwellings and farm buildings at Kemper, Grafton, Rochester, Buckhart, Illiopolis, Mechanicsburg, Thayer, Divernon, Pawnee and Auburn.

APRIL 22

Eight bills recently passed by the legislature are signed by Governor Green. Among them is the marriage license bill repealing the three-day period of waiting between application for and issuance of marriage licenses and substituting a one-day interval.

APRIL 23

Maurice L. Rothschild, pioneer midwestern merchant, dies in Chicago. Since 1904 he had been president of the Chicago clothing firm which bears his name.

APRIL 26

Charles Burrall Pike, Chicago civic and business leader, dies at the age of sixty-nine. President of the Chicago Historical Society since 1927, all his real estate except his homes was willed to that organization.

APRIL 29

Charles B. Nolte, manufacturer, dies at his home in Chicago at the age of fifty-five. He was president and director of the Crane Company and several of its subsidiaries.

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APRIL 30

Beverly W. Howe, Chicago attorney for thirty years, dies at the age of fifty-five. He was the author of several books on Lincoln and a director of Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee.

MAY 2

A gift of \$2,500,000 by James E. MacMurray to the endowment fund of MacMurray College is announced. His benefactions to the institution now total \$4,191,030.

MAY 4

The new lodge at Pere Marquette State Park, overlooking the Illinois River near Grafton, is dedicated. Constructed of brick and timber, the lodge was erected by youths in the Civilian Conservation Corps at a cost of \$250,000.

MAY 5

Seventy Illinois soft coal mines reopen and 25,000 United Mine Workers end their strike. A temporary agreement providing raises of \$1.00 a day in wages up to \$7.00 is announced. Many workers have been idle since April 1.

MAY 7

An opinion rendered by Attorney General George F. Barrett states that erection of a church within 100 feet of a tavern prohibits renewal of the tavern's license upon its expiration. This opinion was written at the

request of L. L. Winn, state's attorney of Whiteside County.

Emil Schram, grain dealer at Hillview, Illinois, from 1915 to 1933, is named president of the New York Stock Exchange. Since 1939 he has been chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

MAY 12

Dr. June Rose Colby, author and teacher, dies at the age of eighty-four. She retired in 1931 after serving as a member of the faculty at Illinois State Normal University since 1892.

MAY 13

Calvin T. Weeks, aged sixty-four, dies in Chicago. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1926 to 1930 and from 1936 to 1938.

MAY 14

Jerome ("Dizzy") Dean, one of the greatest pitchers of all time, retires from the active roster of the Chicago Cubs and is immediately hired as coach.

MAY 16

A wind roaring seventy-seven miles per hour destroys forty airplanes and blows down four hangars at airports in the vicinity of Chicago. Windows and chimneys of many homes are badly damaged and fallen trees block numerous highways in that area.

A governmental reform bill creating a new state department of public safety is approved by Governor Green. All state divisions dealing with public safety, crime fighting and penal administration will be consolidated in the new department.

MAY 19

Sixteen thousand soldiers from the 33rd Division, Illinois National Guard, at Camp Forrest, Tennessee, pass in review before Governor Green and members of the Illinois legislative committee visiting the camp. The training program and camp conditions are being studied by the visitors.

MAY 21

The Chicago, Springfield & St. Louis Railroad abandons service after serving the area between Springfield and Alton for half a century. The system has been split up several times in recent years, parts of it being acquired by the Chicago & Illinois Midland, the Jacksonville & Havana, and Illinois Traction railroads.

MAY 22

Governor Green signs a parole bill that permits judges in criminal cases to make minimum and maximum advisory recommendations.

MAY 23

Illinois ranks ninth among the forty-eight states in density of population, according to reports on the 1940 census just announced. Population in this state averages 141.2 persons per square mile.

MAY 24

Claude V. Parsons, first assistant administrator of the United States housing authority and member of Congress from 1930 to 1940, dies in Washington, D. C., at the age of forty-five. He was formerly a teacher and newspaper editor and lived in Golconda.

MAY 25

Five new oil pools have been discovered during the past

week. They are located in Clay, Fayette, Jackson, Richland and White counties.

MAY 28

A new racing bill is approved by Governor Green. It sets up a three-member board to replace the state racing commission and provides for a two per cent state tax on daily pari-mutuel betting.

MAY 29

Bills signed by the Governor provide for: a three per cent tax on oil producers' receipts on the sale of petroleum taken from the ground after June 30; collection of the sales tax on ninety-eight per cent of retailers' gross receipts instead of one hundred per cent, after the tax drops to two per cent on June 30; an appropriation of \$50,000 for equipping and repairing the Executive Mansion. Several other appropriation bills are also signed.

Miss Effie A. Lansden, librarian and civic leader of Cairo, dies. She had been a member of the staff of the Cairo Public Library for nearly forty years.

MAY 31

Oil activity in Illinois has reached the year's peak during the past week with 401 operations. There were 261 wells drilling, 58 locations for wells, 32 rigging up and 50 inactive tests. The Benton field in Franklin County was the busiest in the state, with 53 operations.

JUNE 2

Governor Green approves a bill providing for a tax of two cents on each package of cigarettes. Funds received from this source will be paid to the state's Emergency Relief Fund.

JUNE 4

Governor Green signs a bill increasing taxes on liquor, wines and beer. A number of appropriation bills are also approved.

JUNE 9

Andrew O'Connor, sixty-seven year old sculptor, dies in Dublin, Ireland. Creator of numerous works, he was known to Illinoisans chiefly for his statue of Abraham Lincoln in front of the State Capitol in Springfield.

JUNE 14

The *Golden Eagle*, thirty-eight year old packet boat, strikes an obstruction and sinks in the Mississippi River near Chester, Illinois. Only one casualty results among the 112 persons on board.

JUNE 16

Both houses of the General Assembly are throttled by a filibuster, started on June 12 in the Senate and today in the House. Practically no business is transacted.

JUNE 18

Among bills signed by the Governor are the following: an appropriation of \$1,000 for a painting of the late Governor Horner and \$500 for one of Lieutenant Governor Hugh Cross, former Speaker of the House of Representatives; a clarification of the jury law which specifically provides that women may serve on grand juries; an act declaring Lincoln's birthday a legal and school holiday.

JUNE 19

The filibuster in the Illinois Senate and House, begun on June 12 and 16 respectively, is ended.

JUNE 24

Dr. George Noble Carman, director of Lewis Institute in Chicago for forty years, dies at Ann Arbor, Michigan, aged eighty-four. He retired in 1935.

JUNE 26

T. P. Sullivan and Alvin S. Keys, both of Springfield, are named director and assistant director, respectively, of the new State Department of Public Safety.

Denis E. Sullivan, Chicago jurist, dies at his home at the age of seventy-one. He was successively a member of the superior, criminal and appellate courts from 1911 to 1935. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1896 to 1902.

JUNE 28

A bill appropriating \$500 for a portrait of former Governor John Stelle is signed by Governor Green.

JUNE 29

Chicago's enlarged municipal airport is dedicated. Rebuilt into a square mile field with 10,000,000 square feet of runways, it is now the largest in the world.

JUNE 30

Governor Green signs bills providing for: a \$16,000,000 program of federal-state aid to dependent children to be administered by the county welfare departments under state direction; abolition of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, substituting the Illinois Public Aid Commission; an increase in unemployment compensation with the maximum weekly benefits \$18 and maximum duration of payment twenty weeks, with a waiting period of one week. (This law is extended to draftees unable to find work on their return to civilian life.)

JULY 1

The following bills become law when the Governor affixes his signature: any organization associated with the Communist, Fascist, or Nazi parties is barred from the Illinois election ballots; members of un-American groups are prohibited from receiving compensation as state employees; the sale of fireworks at retail is forbidden after January 1, 1942; lodging house owners and operators are required to report before elections the names of voters residing in their houses.

The sixty-second Illinois General Assembly adjourns sine die.

JULY 3

Rush Medical College and the Presbyterian Hospital are joined with the University of Illinois College of Medicine. Members of the staff of the first-named institution become "Rush professors" at the University, and Presbyterian Hospital staff members will join the University's clinical staff.

JULY 4

Martin A. Brennan, Democratic congressman-at-large from 1932 to 1936, dies in Bloomington at the age of sixty-one. He had previously served as a member of the Illinois General Assembly from 1920 to 1924.

JULY 6

George Herbert Jones, philanthropist and corporation official, dies at his home in Chicago. Born in Brixton, England in 1856, he came to Chicago at the age of fifteen and in 1893 was one of the organizers of the Inland Steel Company. He gave away millions, most of it to

the University of Chicago and Northwestern University.

JULY 11

Among bills signed by Governor Green are measures regulating the sale of Grade A milk, forbidding women to act as bartenders except in cases where they are tavern proprietors or wives of proprietors, and continuing the Illinois Legislative Council until October 1, 1943.

JULY 15

Governor Green signs sixty-five bills passed by the recent General Assembly and vetoes five. Among the former are bills increasing workmens' compensation and occupational disease benefits; authorizing park district boards to levy one mill annual tax for recreational programs; extending relief to indigent war veterans; and creating a commission to codify the election laws of the state.

JULY 16

Bills signed by the Governor include the following: an appropriation of \$25,000 for a bronze statue of the late Governor Horner; the creation of an Illinois public school commission to codify the state laws on public education; the creation of a division of juvenile research in the Department of Public Welfare. Good Friday is made a legal holiday.

JULY 17

Governor Green signs a number of bills, including one designed to protect the jobs of men drafted for military service, and several permitting the establishment of a permanent registration system in all downstate counties not operating under election commissions.

JULY 18

By a bill which becomes law with the Governor's signature, towns, villages and townships are permitted to increase the tax rate for library purposes from 1.2 to 2 mills.

JULY 21

Bills approved by Governor Green provide for: leaves of absence for civil service employees inducted into military service; notification to teachers of their re-employment; payment of salaries to members of the legislature in two yearly installments; a retirement system for judges; regulations on the release of boys from state training schools.

JULY 22

A bill creating a separate civil service system for the University of Illinois is approved by the Governor.

JULY 23

A bill permitting cities of 150,000 or more to maintain airports becomes law without the Governor's signature.

JULY 27

Homer K. Galpin, member of the Illinois Senate from 1904 to 1908, dies in Chicago at the age of seventy-one.

JULY 28

Temperatures soar to new highs for the year in various parts of Illinois as a heat wave reaches its eighth consecutive day. Numerous cases of prostration are reported.

JULY 29

The oil control measure becomes law. The bill gives the Director of Mines and Minerals authority to administer the act.

The Texas Company's No. 1 W. Leathers well, near Johnsonville, flows 400 barrels an hour from the McClosky lime at 3,015 feet, making it the largest producer from that formation in Illinois. This is the biggest strike in Wayne County history.

JULY 30

Walter A. Rosenfield, director of public works and buildings, announces that Illinois will receive \$5,000,000 as its share of a special \$320,000,000 federal highway appropriation for construction and improvement of highways. The state will add one-fourth of that amount.

JULY 31

A serious water shortage threatens various cities and villages of southern Illinois. Carbondale, without water since June, has tapped Thompson Lake, and West Frankfort is bringing water from Lake Moses. McLeansboro, Bluffs and Elkhville are among other places facing a crisis. Regulations to conserve the supply at Jerseyville prohibit sprinkling of lawns and washing of cars.

AUGUST 1

Water shortage at Anna State Hospital nears a crisis as the hot dry weather continues. The present heat wave is now in its twelfth consecutive day, with all parts of the state affected.

AUGUST 2

George Bain Everitt, chairman of the board of the Merchandise National Bank and former general manager and president of Montgomery Ward & Company, Chicago, dies at the age of fifty-six. His home was in Winnetka.

Bernard W. Snow, Chicago crop expert, dies at the age of seventy-six. He was employed in the United States Department of Agriculture from 1884 to 1892 and since 1894 had been connected with Bartlett Frazier Company, grain brokers.

AUGUST 8

A ruling that oil and gas are minerals under Illinois law and that owners of mineral leases have the right to remove either or both is handed down by Walter C. Lindley, judge of the federal court. Ruling on a thirty-six year old case, the decision is in favor of the Chicago, Wilmington and Franklin Coal Company and against Phil S. Herr and eighteen other defendants on leases near Benton.

AUGUST 9

The eighty-ninth Illinois State Fair opens in Springfield. Admission is free during the first two days; after that the fee will be twenty-five cents.

AUGUST 11

Refreshing breezes, accompanied by scattered rains, dispel the heat which has blanketed Illinois for twenty-two consecutive days.

AUGUST 14

J. J. Cooke, member of the Illinois legislature from 1904 to 1906, dies at his home in Chicago. He moved to that city from Beardstown in 1919.

AUGUST 24

A new 1941 oil record has been set for Illinois during the past week with seventy-seven new wells completed for a daily yield of 39,811 barrels.

AUGUST 26

Charles H. Schweppe, president of Lee, Higginson Corporation, investment bankers, dies at his home in Lake Forest. He was president of St. Luke's Hospital, also a director of Marshall Field & Company and Fairbanks Morse & Company.

AUGUST 27

Soybeans are bid up $4\frac{1}{4}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents with the May contract selling at $\$1.61\frac{5}{8}$ in Chicago. This is the highest level since 1937.

SEPTEMBER 8

Loren E. Murphy, Monmouth, becomes chief justice of the Illinois Supreme Court. This office rotates among the high court justices annually.

Horatio B. Hackett, Chicago architect for over thirty years, dies at the age of sixty-one. A colonel in the first World War, his activities in that conflict won three decorations for him.

SEPTEMBER 11

State Senator A. Otis Arnold dies in Quincy. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives for five consecutive terms (1918-1928) and was elected to his first term in the Illinois Senate in the fall of 1940.

SEPTEMBER 14

John Cannon, native of Cairo, Illinois, dies in St. Louis at the age of sixty-nine. After nineteen years with the Illinois Central Railroad, he became associated with the Missouri Pacific Railroad in 1905 and at the time of his death was general manager and vice-president.

SEPTEMBER 17

The right of women to serve on grand juries is upheld by the Illinois Supreme Court. This decision reverses the judgment of the McDonough County Circuit Court which quashed a grand jury indictment because there were several women members. Since June 18 provision for such service by women has been a part of state law.

John C. McKenzie, Elizabeth, dies at the age of eighty-one. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1892 to 1896, state senator from 1900 to 1911 and congressman from 1911 to 1925.

SEPTEMBER 29

Francis B. Murphy, Wilmette, is appointed director of the State Department of Labor. He succeeds Martin P. Durkin, resigned.

SEPTEMBER 30

Thomas Maclay Hoyne, ninety-eight year old attorney, dies at his home in Chicago. He practiced law in that city from 1867 until he retired on his ninetieth birthday.

OCTOBER 1

Announcement is made that Dr. Roland R. Cross, Dahlgren, is to continue as director of the State Department of Public Health. With this appointment, Governor Green has completed his cabinet of eleven code department directors.

OCTOBER 4

Heavy rains throughout central Illinois cause extensive crop damage. Near Elkhart a high wind accompanying the downpour adds to the destruction. An all-time record for a single October day's rainfall is reached in Springfield with 4.76 inches falling in eighteen hours.

OCTOBER 5

The heavy downpour continues in many parts of Illinois. Vast farm areas in Greene and Pike counties are flooded.

OCTOBER 6

All-time records of 7.51 inches of rain in the past seventy-two hours in Springfield and 6.16 inches in Jacksonville are reported. Rains are general throughout the Mississippi Valley. Streams are overflowing, subways are flooded, and many roads are impassable. Farm work is at a standstill, with corn and soybeans subjected to serious damage.

OCTOBER 8

Helen Morgan, native of Danville, dies in Chicago. A singer of "torch songs," she had been starred in a number of musical comedies during the past twenty years.

OCTOBER 14

Michael F. Browner, serving his fifth term in the Illinois House of Representatives, dies at the age of seventy-nine. He was mayor of Mound City for thirty years.

The Abraham Lincoln Memorial Garden at Lake Springfield is presented to the people of the nation by the Garden Club of Illinois.

OCTOBER 16

Harold F. McCormick, chairman of the board of the International Harvester Company of Chicago and widely known patron of music and art, dies in Beverly Hills, California, at the age of sixty-nine. The son of Cyrus Hall McCormick, inventor of the reaper, he started his career in 1895 with the old McCormick Harvesting Machine Company.

OCTOBER 18

Edward A. Cudahy, Sr., chairman of the Cudahy Packing Company, dies at the age of eighty-one. With his brother, he founded the Cudahy Company in 1880.

OCTOBER 23

Shailer Mathews, dean emeritus of the divinity school at the University of Chicago, dies in Chicago at the age of seventy-eight. An outstanding leader in modern religious education, he was the author of more than a score of books on the subject.

OCTOBER 24

In a record-breaking parachute jump in Chicago, Arthur H. Starnes hurtles downward more than five and a half miles. Leaping from the plane at 30,800 feet, he falls 29,300 feet before opening his parachute. The free fall is made in $116\frac{1}{2}$ seconds, an average speed of 170 miles per hour.

Dr. William Albert Noyes, professor emeritus and head of the department of chemistry at the University of Illinois from 1907 to 1926, dies at the age of eighty-three. An outstanding scientist and the author of numerous books and articles, he had been honored with the highest scientific and chemical awards.

OCTOBER 27

A new agreement on wages and working conditions for approximately 27,000 United Mine Workers in Illinois is reached in Chicago. Wage increases of \$1.00 to \$1.60 per day, retroactive to April 1, will provide wages varying from \$6.00 to \$9.80 per day. The old contract expired on March 31.

OCTOBER 31

Four honorary colonels are appointed to Governor Green's personal staff—A. Austin Harding, Champaign; Lester J. Norris, St. Charles; James Simpson, Jr., Wadsworth; and Charles Aaron, Chicago.

Floyd Wise, LaSalle County farmer, wins the eighteenth annual Illinois state cornhusking contest near Tonica. Working in a steady rain on a muddy field, he sets a new record of 50.96 bushels in eighty minutes.

NOVEMBER 3

Floyd Wise, champion Illinois cornhusker, wins the national contest at Tonica. He husks 44.371 bushels in eighty minutes.

NOVEMBER 4

Judicial elections are held in Cook County and commissioners are elected in seventeen downstate counties.

George T. Page, Peoria, dies in La Jolla, California, where he was spending the winter. He was judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals from 1919 to 1930.

NOVEMBER 7

Thirteen thousand school children and 475 teachers in Rockford begin an eight weeks' vacation. Because of lack of funds, the public schools will not reopen until January 5.

The Mississippi River at East St. Louis reaches a stage of 29.1 feet, the highest November mark since 1881 when it stood at 29.5. The present stage is the highest for any month since April, 1939.

NOVEMBER 9

Waters of the rain swollen Kaskaskia River in Fayette County flood 35,000 acres of corn and soybeans. Intermittent rains since September have disrupted harvesting operations and caused extensive damage in many parts of Illinois.

Creation of an Illinois Industrial Progress Commission consisting of eleven members is announced by Governor Green. Its purpose is to stimulate greater state pride and to acquaint the nation with Illinois' historical background and industrial achievements.

NOVEMBER 11

Sixteen thousand soldiers, members of the 33rd Division of the Illinois National Guard in training at Camp Forrest, Tennessee, return to Illinois to take part in extensive Armistice Day parades in Chicago and Springfield.

NOVEMBER 12

Four men die in a powder plant explosion at the Western Powder Manufacturing Company at Edwards near Peoria. Two buildings of the plant are demolished by the blast.

NOVEMBER 15

Wage increases for approximately 18,000 Illinois coal miners are provided in a two-year contract signed by the Illinois Coal Producers Association of Illinois and the Progressive Mine Workers of America. The agreement, retroactive to April 1, 1941, provides for a basic daily wage of \$7.00.

NOVEMBER 18

Robert Zuppke resigns as football coach at the Univer-

sity of Illinois. He has held this position for the last twenty-nine years.

The Illinois Supreme Court upholds the validity of the act permitting the Secretary of State to determine whether or not a corporation seeking a charter in Illinois bears a name deceptively similar to another firm doing business in the state. This reverses an order of the Cook County Circuit Court granting a mandamus to the Investors' Syndicate of America, Inc., which would have compelled the Secretary to issue a charter.

NOVEMBER 19

A portrait of the late Governor Henry Horner is unveiled in the executive offices of the Statehouse. Funds for the painting, which is the work of John Doctoroff of Chicago, were provided by the recent General Assembly.

NOVEMBER 21

Everett C. Hardin, member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1902 to 1906, dies in Monmouth. He was president of the Second National Bank of that city.

NOVEMBER 24

The Illinois Supreme Court rules that municipalities of the state have the power to force public utilities to remove poles and other equipment from city streets at the expiration of their franchises. The decision, the second one in which the court has upheld this right, sustains ordinances of the municipalities of Geneseo and Heyworth.

NOVEMBER 25

The Illinois Supreme Court grants a stay of mandate in

its decision holding that municipalities have full control over the use of their streets by private utilities.

NOVEMBER 27

Thomas Meehan, member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1898 to 1900 and of the Illinois Senate from 1900 to 1904, dies at his home in Bluffs.

NOVEMBER 29

The forty-second annual International Livestock Exposition opens in Chicago with a record smashing attendance of 52,000 on the opening day. More than thirteen thousand blue-blooded animals worth more than \$5,000,000, and 5,000 specimens of grain and hay are on display.

DECEMBER 1

Frank S. Cunningham dies at his home in Evanston at the age of seventy-five. He had been with Butler Brothers, Chicago, wholesale merchandisers, for fifty-five years, serving as president from 1918 to 1939 and chairman of the board since 1939.

DECEMBER 2

Robert McMurdy, practicing lawyer in Chicago for sixty years and founder of the Hamilton Club of that city, dies at his home in Winnetka. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1892 to 1894.

DECEMBER 6

Illinois is the grand champion state of the International Livestock Exposition, closing today. Its exhibitors have received 54 championships and 128 first ribbons among the 37 competing states.

DECEMBER 8

Miss Mary Davidson, sixty-nine year old editor of the *Carthage Republican*, dies at her home in Carthage. She was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1930 to 1934.

DECEMBER 9

Plans to expand and co-ordinate state defense efforts are made at a meeting of the Illinois Council of Defense and state officers. Governor Green announces that every resource and facility of Illinois will be thrown into the national defense, the United States having declared war on Japan on December 8.

DECEMBER 10

Members of seven companies of the Illinois reserve militia are called out to maintain twenty-four hour guard duty at strategic interstate railroad and highway bridges in Illinois.

DECEMBER 11

Governor Green orders members of the Illinois reserve militia to twenty-four hour guard duty at four Illinois airports—Chicago Municipal, Joliet, Peoria and Springfield. Organization of an Illinois reserve militia air corps to supplement the state's military forces in carrying out the national defense program has also been ordered by the Governor.

DECEMBER 12

Governor Green summons all the 7,000,000 inhabitants of Illinois to take part in national defense efforts.

DECEMBER 13

A special wartime session of the Illinois General Assembly is called for December 18 to place Illinois on a war footing.

DECEMBER 15

Joseph W. Rickert, aged 101, dies at his home in Waterloo. He had been practicing law since 1869. He was also president of the Commercial State Bank of Waterloo which he founded in 1882.

DECEMBER 18

The Illinois General Assembly convenes in special session to begin work on a program expanding the defense efforts of the state. Governor Green has listed seventeen subjects for special legislation.

DECEMBER 23

Governor Green signs bills appropriating \$5,000,000 for expansion of the state militia and \$750,000 for the state council of defense. Both measures have been enacted at the current special session of the legislature.

DECEMBER 28

A gas explosion kills eight men in a coal mine near Harco. The blast occurs in a section which was being dismantled preceding abandonment.

DECEMBER 30

William Scanlan, member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1908 to 1922, dies at his home in LaSalle.

DECEMBER 31

Samuel P. Irwin, reporter for the Illinois Supreme Court for the last thirty-two years, dies at the age of seventy-one. His home was in Bloomington.

The past month has been the warmest December in the last eleven years. It was also the ninth consecutive month in which the temperature averaged above normal.

The past year's farm crops in Illinois, with a total value of \$497,762,000, show a forty-three per cent gain over 1941. Corn accounts for fifty-six per cent of the total with an average yield of 52.5 bushels per acre. The total acreage of all crops harvested in Illinois in 1941 was 18,617,000.

Forty-four new oil pools were discovered and developed in nineteen Illinois counties in 1941, adding 18,400 acres to the oil producing areas of the state. White County led with a total of eight new fields. The entire yield for the year in Illinois was 134,000,000 barrels.

Motor vehicle deaths in Illinois in 1941 increased twelve per cent over 1940 with 2,608 persons killed during the year. Gasoline consumption, indicating 19,000,000,000 motor miles traveled, was the highest on record.

ILLINOIS INDIANS ON THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI, 1771-1782

BY STANLEY FAYE

EIGHT hundred warriors of six Illinois tribes grouped themselves about the French fort on Starved Rock in the year 1688. Even after another twelve years of Iroquois warfare their numbers at the end of the century were undiminished.¹ Despite war with the Fox and Sauk Indians in succeeding years the Peoria tribe, largest of the Illinois nations, maintained its military force with few losses. Soon after the year 1700 the Kaskaskia and other tribes migrated from the wilderness to the new French settlement on the Mississippi River. There they decreased steadily in numbers, killed off by civilization in combination with the raids that enemy tribesmen made upon them.

British officers came to Fort Chartres in 1765 to succeed the French and found that the Peoria, with warriors to the number of 250, had followed their Kaskaskia kinsmen to the Mississippi River. The Cahokia and Tamaroa, whose sixty households with some 200 warriors had never lived among the six tribes of the Rock, could show now a military force of forty in their village below the mouth of the Illinois River.² Some of the

¹ "Memoir of Degannes Concerning the Illinois Country," in Theodore Calvin Pease and Raymond C. Werner, eds., *The French Foundations, 1680-1693 (Illinois Historical Collections, XXIII, Springfield, 1934)*, 323, 327.

² Pease and Werner, *French Foundations*, 341-42; Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter, eds., *The New Régime, 1765-1767 (Ill. Hist. Col., XI, Springfield, 1916)*, 126.

Illinois and some of an alien people, the Michigamea, had gone long since to join the Quapaw tribes on the Arkansas River. The Illinois on the Arkansas maintained a tribal organization of their own and appear to have returned to the north in the period of British domination on the Mississippi left bank. The Michigamea on the Arkansas permitted themselves to be adopted and absorbed into the Quapaw nation.³ At their village near Fort Chartres those Michigamea who had joined the Illinois tribes could muster in the year 1765 no greater number than the Cahokia and Tamaroa combined. Of the Kaskaskia and remnants of other Illinois tribes who had come early in the century to the Mississippi, the Kaskaskia chief, Tomera, and his heir-apparent, an Indian boy about ten years old, Jean-Batiste du Coigne, counted a total of 150 men.⁴

If the Illinois Country to the eastward of the Mississippi River had passed from French domination to British, that part of the Illinois Country to the westward (today called Missouri) had passed with most of French Louisiana to Spanish domination. Since by the Family Compact made between the French and Spanish Bourbon kings "France ought to consider as her own the interests of Spain" and thenceforth advocate her causes, the French Governor in New Orleans and his post commanders urged both white and Indian residents of the British Illinois to cross the Mississippi River to the Spanish side.⁵ Black Dog, chief of the Peoria, per-

³ Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1758), II: 243.

⁴ Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter, eds., *Trade and Politics, 1767-1769* (*Ill. Hist. Col.*, XVI, Springfield, 1921), 277; cf. Acosta to Unzaga y Amézoga, Aug. 29, 1775, Archivo de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, Legajo 2357; Alvord and Carter, *New Régime*, 126.

⁵ Cf. Theodore Calvin Pease, ed., *Anglo-French Boundary Disputes in the West, 1749-1763* (*Ill. Hist. Col.*, XXVII, Springfield, 1936), 319-20; Alvord and Carter, *New Régime*, 126-27, 134, 145-46.

suaded only twenty households of his tribe, with perhaps sixty warriors, to remain as British allies on the left bank. The rest of his people, including nearly two hundred men of military age, had quickly decided to plant their corn on the Spanish side just opposite, below the village of Paincourt, soon to increase in size under the name San Luis de Ilinoeses.⁶

The Sieur de Grandcour, French commandant on the Arkansas River, gave over command in February, 1768, to his Spanish successor, Alexandre de Clouet, a native of Flanders.⁷ Two years later Captain Balthazar de Villiers, long experienced as commandant of the Balize,⁸ the French military post and pilot station near the Mississippi mouths, succeeded De Clouet for a while and after a few later years at another post returned late in 1776 to take command again in the Arkansas post of Spain. This consisted of a stockaded fort and a little village. It stood not far above the point on the Arkansas River's left bank where, some seven French leagues above the mouth, a bayou or chute comes down to the Arkansas from a head in the White River, the next northerly affluent of the Mississippi.

Down the Mississippi River the Illinois Indians might venture more safely than into their own north-eastern prairies. A hundred years of friendship existed between them and the Quapaw of the Arkansas. On the Arkansas, a little way above the mouth, their comman-

⁶ Alvord and Carter, *Trade and Politics*, 406, 407; Alvord and Carter, *New Régime*, 299, 300; Guy Dufossat, "Relève d'une partie du Missisipi et du Missouri depuis le vilage de Pain-court iusqu'au Rocher de leau froide fait aux illinois Provaince de la Louisiane le 15 octobre 1767," Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Bellas Artes, 19-1a, III.

⁷ Cf. Piernas to Ulloa, Feb. 1, Oct. 13, 14, 1768, AGI, PdeC, Legajo 2357; De Clouet to the Governor of Texas, Nov. 10, 1774, annexed to Bucareli to [Arriaga?], Feb. 25, 1776, AGI, Audiencia, Guadalajara, 104-6-17.

⁸ Second annex to O'Reilly to Arriaga, Dec. 29, 1769, AGI, Audiencia, Santa Domingo, 80-1-9.

dant and seigneur, Henri de Tonti, had established in the previous century the most southerly post of his Illinois Country. Tonti's bark canoes had carried hence to Canada the low-grade "Illinois beaver" that gave his colony of Illinois a bad name among fur traders of Montreal. More than three decades later the India Company, administrator of French Louisiana, included the Arkansas post within its governmental district of Illinois.⁹ Here as allies of the Quapaw and of Commandant Grandcour, but still maintaining their tribe distinct from that of their neighbors, a British officer found Illinois Indians as he came up the Mississippi River to Fort Chartres in the year 1765.¹⁰

Beaver skins from the real Illinois Country were of somewhat better quality than those of the Arkansas. To dispose of their peltries one band of Illinois Indians undertook in 1771 a journey far beyond the land of the Quapaw. Even to the British village of Natchez they carried furs down the Mississippi River. Then from pirogues to the backs of Natchez horses they transferred their packs. Two weeks later they delivered their lading in the British settlements of South Carolina.¹¹

This experiment in commerce was not to be repeated. In the next year difficulties confronted the British colonial government in regard to the western posts of America. Military necessity in Canada demanded in 1772 the recall of the British garrison from the region of Fort Chartres.¹² Only a small detachment of white soldiers remained to deter the raids that the Fox Indians and

⁹ *Reports Concerning Canadian Archives*, 1904, App. K, p. 10.

¹⁰ Alvord and Carter, *New Régime*, 133.

¹¹ Acosta to Bernardo de Gálvez, Jan. 31, 1777, AGI, PdeC, Legajo 2351.

¹² Clarence Walworth Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790* (*Ill. Hist. Col.*, V, Springfield, 1909), 90n.

their allies, the Sauk, had not ceased to make upon the dwindling forces of the Kaskaskia. In the year 1774 some of the Kaskaskia grew desperate.

Their chief, Tomera, was no more. Their hereditary leader now was a boy about nineteen years old, Jean-Batiste du Coigne. The Peoria had gained only a precarious advantage at St. Louis, where Spanish influence granting them limited protection from raids by their enemies could grant less to the weaker Kaskaskia if Jean-Batiste, the Kaskaskia king, should do no more than lead his own people across the river. Sixty Kaskaskia warriors and their families, 210 persons in all, preferred still to take their chances among familiar dangers.¹³ With eighty warriors, with women and children increasing the total perhaps to 300, Jean-Batiste in the autumn of 1774 guided his fleet of pirogues down the Mississippi River. In the spring of the following year he led them up the confluent stream to Fort Carlos III, the Spanish Arkansas post.¹⁴

The Quapaw of the Arkansas received the Kaskaskia in friendship. So, too, did Don Josef de Orieta, commanding on the Arkansas in the absence of Captain de Villiers. Don Josef gave to the Kaskaskia an invitation to "settle down and make a crop"—a crop both of corn and of furs. The Quapaw offered them Quapaw land for their use at a spot near the Arkansas post that met with Don Josef's approval. Yet the Kaskaskia declined to accept the offer and the approval. They sought to sell their own offer of alliance at a price more to their liking.

The Kaskaskia said that they were too proud to live

¹³ Cf. Thomas Hutchins, *A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina* (London, 1778), 37, 66.

¹⁴ Acosta to Unzaga y Amézoga, Aug. 29, 1775, AGI, PdeC, Legajo 2357. Apparently the Kaskaskia sold their winter's catch of (British) furs at the Spanish post.

on Quapaw charity. Forgetting the experience of the Illinois and Michigamea in earlier years they argued that the ancient friendship existing between the Quapaw and Illinois might not endure if two nations so different in customs should try to live side by side. From the Spanish commandant they asked permission to ascend the bayou and make their crop on the White River on land that should be their own. Don Josef refused their request.¹⁵

Spanish commandants, like French commandants before them, owned the trade concessions of their posts. There, on the Arkansas River, spring floods were eating away the banks and threatening to engulf Fort Carlos III as they had engulfed earlier French forts nearer to the river's mouth. Yet as long as the stockaded cabin that was the fort was not washed away it was Don Josef's place of business. The Spanish officer knew that a crop of furs from the White River might pass through alien hands to the farther and British bank of the Mississippi and thus bring no commercial profit to the commandant of Fort Carlos III.

Not only commercial considerations but also knowledge of his own military weakness may have influenced Don Josef in his refusal. His fort, which bore the name of his king, made a mockery of royal dignity and power. Many earlier years of neglect had ruined completely Don Josef's artillery. He had no military equipment at all.¹⁶ Two officers and a handful of soldiers restrained the docile Quapaw on the Arkansas, but the lower course of the White River was a no man's land.

¹⁵ Acosta to Unzaga y Amézoga, Aug. 29, 1775, AGI, PdeC, Legajo 2357.

¹⁶ Unzaga y Amézoga to Josef de Gálvez, June 19, 1776, No. 159, AGI, Audiencia, Santo Domingo, 87-3-10.

Outlaw French hunters whose faces were never seen at Fort Carlos III came to the place on the White River that they called the *Cadran* and that the Spanish commandant of the fort called the *Quadrante*. There they sold their furs to be carried, if the purchaser preferred, to the British side of the Mississippi. The White River was a home unsuitable for a tribe who during the ten preceding years had preferred the British to the Spanish of St. Louis. Thus the officer commanding Fort Carlos III might have argued.

To nullify Don Josef's refusal the Kaskaskia had only one recourse. They must appeal to Governor Unzaga in New Orleans. Even as far as the Natchez one band of the Illinois had ventured in 1771. Now in the summer of 1775 Jean-Batiste du Coigne left his tribe among the Quapaw and proved his kingship by undertaking a more southerly voyage. On the way south his courage failed him. Only to the most northerly Spanish post on the left bank he came in the month of August. He came to the stockaded house called Fort San Gabriel, standing eight yards from the river bank and twelve yards below the international boundary, Bayou Manchac, and its footbridge, within sight of the most southerly British post, Fort Bute.¹⁷ Jean-Batiste dared go no farther. At Manchac the twenty-year-old chief-tain put his troubles into the hands of Lieutenant Thomás de Acosta, the Spanish commandant.¹⁸

Jean-Batiste asked the commandant to forward to the Governor in New Orleans the Kaskaskia tribesmen's

¹⁷ Cf. Acosta to Bernardo de Gálvez, Jan. 31, 1777, AGI, PdeC, Legajo 2351.

¹⁸ Acosta was a sub-lieutenant in the Battalion of Louisiana as late as 1774; late in 1779 he received promotion to a captaincy and to a post as adjutant-major in New Orleans. Annex to Unzaga to Arriaga, Sept. 7, 1774, AGI, Audiencia, Santo Domingo, 86-7-19; *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XV (July, 1932), 479.

petition for land that should be their own on the White River. As for himself he related that he possessed a French medal; he would think it proper to accept from Governor Unzaga a Spanish medal in order that he in a new home on the White River might show himself to Quapaw chiefs of the Arkansas as their equal in Spanish esteem. Don Thomás reminded himself silently that a most suitable medal lay at hand, the one once worn by the late Tonica chief who had burned the first British buildings of Fort Bute as soon as the British had built them.¹⁹

Even for the sake of honor and a Spanish home Jean-Batiste declined to extend his voyage by the three days of paddling that would bring him to New Orleans. Already, he felt that he was too long absent on his travels; his people might think that he had died on the way. He did not say that he feared to find a usurper reigning in his place, but from San Gabriel de Manchac he started on his journey up the river. Don Thomás forwarded his petition to Governor Unzaga.²⁰ The Governor, like Don Josef de Orieta, refused to grant the petition.

As early as that month of August, 1775, not even the best-informed person in New Orleans could have told Jean-Batiste du Coigne much news about influences that the Spanish government was soon to exert upon the old home of the Kaskaskia Indians. Yet already Spain was

¹⁹ Such a medal, unlike the French medal inherited by Jean-Batiste du Coigne, was given for life only; after the possessor's death it was returned to the Spanish government by surviving relatives. With the medal was given a Spanish flag and a flagstaff. For the contemporary Spanish military medal granted "for merit" cf. Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin* 30, Washington, 1912), I: 830; for French, British and American medals cf. Victor Morin, "Les Médailles Décernées aux Indiens d'Amérique," in Royal Society of Canada, *Proceedings and Transactions for 1915-1916*, Ser. III, Vol. IX, sec. I, pp. 277-353.

²⁰ Acosta to Unzaga y Amézoga, Aug. 29, 1775, AGI, PdeC, Legajo 2357.

preparing all her naval power for war against Great Britain. Into such a war France for some months past had seen that her own interest and the rebellion of British colonists in North America were inviting her and (as she hoped) her Spanish friend of the Family Compact. During the next twelve months the two conspiring governments granted increasing favors in Europe to agents of the American rebels. During those twelve months the Spanish Governor in New Orleans found increasing cause to fear that British colonial officers might send naval and military forces by way of the Gulf of Mexico and Fort Bute to make war upon him. Almost as allies, therefore, Spanish Louisiana treated Captain George Gibson and Lieutenant William Linn of the rebel American army when those officers, having descended the Ohio and Mississippi rivers in the spring of 1776, landed at New Orleans seeking warlike supplies.

The Americans needed gunpowder especially. The Governor had plenty to spare, though he knew it to be of questionable value after lying four years in a damp and unventilated warehouse.²¹ Under suitable precautions against British accusation of unneutrality he forwarded the rebel interest.²²

Lieutenant Linn left Captain Gibson to return home by sea. Into one big barge the lieutenant loaded the first of many successive shipments, ninety-eight barrels (about 9,000 pounds) of gunpowder drawn from the Spanish government's supplies.²³ He set out to remount

²¹ Unzaga y Amézoga to Josef de Gálvez, June 19, 1776, AGI, Audiencia, Santo Domingo, 87-3-10.

²² Cf. Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana* (4th ed., New Orleans, 1903), III: 100.

²³ John Francis Hamtramck Claiborne, *Mississippi, as a Province, Territory and State* (Jackson, Miss., 1881), 117n. The great size of the shipment confirms Claiborne's assertion.

the rivers to Fort Pitt and Wheeling. Joining him on the way, or traveling perhaps in a separate boat, went James Willing, a Philadelphian among the four merchants who had been competing for trade in Natchez.²⁴ In the course of the journey Lieutenant Linn's men fell ill. The officer thought it necessary to appeal again to Spanish friends. So on November 26 his barge lay at the crumbling river bank before Fort Carlos III.²⁵

Captain de Villiers had returned to the command of the Arkansas post and on September 23 had made a first report on conditions there. The fort, he said, was in a deplorable state. Yet prospects for trade were good, since furs would be brought in not only by Quapaw but also by Kaskaskia hunters. The pride of the Kaskaskia had proved to be less than Jean-Batiste du Coigne had represented it in conversations with Don Josef de Orieta and Don Thomás de Acosta. Denied a Spanish grant of land on the White River, the Kaskaskia tribe had remained on the Arkansas and now were asking permission to let a Quapaw chief adopt them all, like the Michigamea in an earlier age.²⁶

Captain de Villiers offered friendship and hospitality not only to the trader from Natchez but also to the rebel Virginians who arrived on November 26. Space in his storehouse, not to be occupied until spring by furs for which he would have traded manufactured goods to the Quapaw, Kaskaskia and French hunters, he gave to the Spanish gunpowder from New Orleans. The oars-

²⁴ Bernardo de Gálvez to De Villiers, March 6, 1777, second letter AGI, PdeC, Legajo 1; Claiborne, *Mississippi*, 116.

²⁵ Linn to Pollock (Arkansas, Nov. 30, 1776?), Draper MSS, 60 J 277, 67-68 ff (Wis. Hist. Soc.); Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds., *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777* (Madison, 1908), xvi, 226n.

²⁶ Bernardo de Gálvez to De Villiers, March 6, 1777, first letter, AGI, PdeC, Legajo 1.

men regained their health. Lieutenant Linn feared that Indians in the British interest, Chickasaw on the Mississippi and Delawares on the Ohio, might soon begin a campaign that would delay him. At the earliest moment in the new year, about the first of March, he set out again. To Jimmy Mathews, whom he found trading goods at the mouth of the Ohio on account of a commercial house in British Illinois, he issued rebel orders to sell no gunpowder to Delawares. In May he delivered his Spanish cargo safely at Wheeling.²⁷

Official hospitality granted to American rebels at a Spanish post demonstrated to Indians better than white men's words the fact that Virginians, French and Spaniards, as Jean-Batiste was to say one day to the Chickasaw, were "all as one."²⁸ Into a region of triple enmity, therefore, came British traders crossing the Mississippi River from the British village of Concord (most northerly settlement of the Natchez district, at or near modern Rosedale, Mississippi) a few weeks after Lieutenant Linn had quitted Spanish jurisdiction.

Captain de Villiers had foreseen a British incursion such as Don Josef de Orieta had experienced in previous springs. As early as October he had begun to make arrangements for counter action. The peaceful Quapaw had never cared to police the no man's land of the White River, but fortune had presented Captain de Villiers with a novel force in the persons of Kaskaskia tribesmen. To these homeless warriors the commandant of the Arkansas post promised the riches that they might

²⁷ Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records*, 11, 12; Linn to Pollock (Nov. 30, 1776), Draper MSS; Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, xvi-vii, 226n., 252-53n.

²⁸ Cf. James Alton James, ed., *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1781-1784* (*Ill. Hist. Col.*, XIX, Springfield, 1926), 75.

gain for themselves by robbing the trespassing British traders and thus leaving them harmless. The Kaskaskia could promise to themselves that service on the White River might bring them favors such as the Governor in New Orleans had been slow to grant in years just past.

Don Bernardo de Gálvez, a young and energetic officer, succeeded Governor Unzaga in January, 1777. The Kaskaskia of the Arkansas merited attention in the letter with which Don Bernardo began correspondence on March 6 with Captain de Villiers. Like his predecessor the new Governor hesitated to offend the British government. Replying to Captain de Villiers' report of September 23 he declined to authorize any overt act at his Arkansas post that might seem to be a theft of Indian allies from the British; yet he suggested how the desired end might be obtained. "You will leave the Quapaw free," he ordered Captain de Villiers, "to receive or not to receive the Kaskaskia, without giving them definite permission."

Thus after two years of negotiation Jean-Batiste du Coigne gained for his tribesmen even less advantage than Don Josef de Orieta had offered him upon his arrival at the Arkansas post. Yet a service soon to be performed by his warriors won three months later everything that Jean-Batiste had asked of Don Thomás de Acosta at Manchac. In reports of April 16 and May 19 Captain de Villiers described the service and the circumstances in which it had been performed, and on June 6 Governor de Gálvez replied as follows:

You will give the Kaskaskia to understand how much I am pleased by the news of their having pillaged the English traders, and I hope that they may continue, as they have offered, to stay for that purpose on the White River. You for your part will [direct]

them that they shall not permit the entrance of any foreigner into that region, and you will exhort them to harry all the hunters that you say are on that river and on the Arkansas, which is the true means of driving out these latter and of making themselves rich with the spoils.

To the army captain who carried his dispatches up the rivers Governor de Gálvez entrusted the medal and Spanish flag that Captain de Villiers had just asked for the Kaskaskia chief. With reference to these gifts and to this chieftain the Governor commanded Captain de Villiers as follows: "You will deliver it all to him in the name of His Majesty, and you will tell him that in consideration of this honor he shall remain constant in the resolve he has taken not to permit to the English any trade in our dominions."²⁹

Forces stronger than that of the Kaskaskia were removing the English from trade in the Mississippi Valley. It seemed on the upper Mississippi River that with assurance of supplies from New Orleans, the Virginians and the French—even if not yet in formal alliance—would soon be coming to occupy the Illinois Country and drive back hostile British Indians from Grand Prairie. Even the Peoria of St. Louis, Spanish residents for more than a dozen years past, abandoned their Spanish alliance and in the spring of 1777 went back expectantly to plant their corn at Cahokia.³⁰

In a report prepared late in the year the Spanish commandant of St. Louis enlarged upon this subject; Jean-Batiste du Coigne and his Kaskaskia band had gone back also. The commandant belittled a loss that was common to him and to Captain de Villiers by adding

²⁹ Gálvez to De Villiers, June 6, 1777, AGI, PdeC, Legajo 2358. Gálvez speaks of the chief as Arankoua, perhaps the native name of Jean-Batiste du Coigne or perhaps the name of a half-chief.

³⁰ Cruzat to Gálvez, Nov. 26, 1777, AGI, PdeC, Legajo 2358.

that both tribes were much reduced in numbers through being at war with all the nations beyond the left bank. The fact that some Kaskaskia still lingered on the White River he revealed in his estimate that the prodigals of two tribes at Cahokia included only 100 warriors.³¹

On January 10, 1778, expectancy on the Mississippi River had its first response in the departure of James Willing from Fort Pitt with a bargeload of rebel soldiers.³² On February 15 Captain de Villiers reported that Captain Willing had paid him another visit to say that the British village of Concord had ceased to exist and that the expedition was intending further raids on British posts to the southward.³³ On May 16 he wrote to tell what had become of his remaining Kaskaskia guests. One of them had just come back to Fort Carlos III but only to say that the others, with many Peoria and thirty persons of the Skidi, or Pawnee Loup, tribe had settled themselves for the year half way between Ste. Genevieve and the Ohio River mouth. One Peoria and one Skidi had gone on a mission to the Chickasaw and the Miami to learn what might be the intentions of those two nations in regard to conflicting British and rebel interests on the Mississippi.³⁴

At last in July came George Rogers Clark and his company of Virginians to take possession of the Illinois Country and of all the left bank above the Ohio. Jean-Batiste, king of the Kaskaskia, enlisted himself at once under the flag of his fourth allegiance.³⁵ His wish to

³¹ Report on Indian tribes, St. Louis, Nov. 15, annexed to Cruzat to Gálvez, Dec. 6, 1777, Legajo 2358.

³² John Caughey, "Willing's Expedition Down the Mississippi, 1778," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XV (Jan., 1932) 5-36.

³³ Gálvez to De Villiers, March 5, 1778, two letters, AGI, PdeC, Legajo 1.

³⁴ Gálvez to De Villiers, Aug. 26, 1778, AGI, PdeC, Legajo 1.

³⁵ Cf. James Alton James, ed., *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781* (Ill. Hist. Col., VIII, Springfield, 1912), 124.

draw the Chickasaw away from their British alliance and to, or at least toward, the rebel interest caused him in that same summer of 1778 to undertake a mission to the Chickasaw country.³⁶ That trip resulted in failure, but the Miami on the Wabash, to whom the Peoria and Skidi had gone earlier in the year, received Colonel Clark with discreet friendship.³⁷ Don Bernardo de Gálvez, serving a government newly at war with Great Britain, had more success than Captain Willing in taking and holding Natchez and Fort Bute in 1779. In 1780, while George Rogers Clark campaigned against Shawnee Indians near the Ohio, Jean-Batiste du Coigne's tribesmen brought in venison for Clark's new Fort Jefferson on the left bank of the Mississippi below the Ohio's mouth.³⁸

More news of an old ally reached Fort Carlos III on July 3, 1782, when five visitors came up the Arkansas River. Lieutenant Louis de Villars, temporary successor to Captain de Villiers, gave them welcome. Two Kaskaskia Indians supported another who dared touch only one foot to the ground. A fourth Kaskaskia walked from the river bank nursing a broken rib. Their French companion explained that surgical aid was needed for injuries incurred on a journey in company with Jean-Batiste du Coigne.

Virginians, French and Spaniards now were quite as one in declared enmity to the British. So the American commander of Illinois and the Spanish commandant of St. Louis had sent Jean-Batiste with one band of American Kaskaskia, with another of Spanish Skidi and with

³⁶ James, ed., *Clark Papers*, 1771-1781, 260-61.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 146, 163, 295.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 418, 437.

French companions to try a second time to make peace between the Chickasaw and the Virginians.³⁹ The war had come almost to an end on the Mississippi River. The Chickasaw, aware of that fact, were pleased now to be reasonable. Jean Batiste's second diplomatic mission to the Chickasaw nation resulted in a measure of success.⁴⁰

Nearly a year earlier than the Chickasaw mission General Clark, the former colonel, had provided Jean-Batiste with credentials unmistakably good. At that time when muskets were not to be had by all Indians, when the newfangled arms called rifles were little known even on the seaboard, when—after years of peace—another war was still to come, ending at New Orleans with a battle in which British forces would retreat before the muskets of Anglo-Americans, French creoles, exiled Mexican patriots, and Choctaw Indians, General Clark made to Jean-Batiste du Coigne a royal gift.

Another long river journey the Kaskaskia king had undertaken, from the mouth of the Ohio to the head of that river at Fort Pitt. He started back late in August with dispatches to deliver to General Clark at Louisville.⁴¹ So on September 25, 1781, George Rogers Clark could testify in person to the esteem in which he and the State of Virginia held an Indian ally. His gift was not a medal and a flag. Nine hundred dollars in depreciated Virginia currency he passed over to an Ohio River merchant in part payment "for a Rifle Gun for John Baptist the Indian Chief."⁴²

³⁹ De Villars to Grand-Pré, July 6, 1782, AGI, PdeC, Legajo 2359.

⁴⁰ James, ed., *Clark Papers, 1781-1784*, 73-75.

⁴¹ James, ed., *Clark Papers, 1771-1781*, 590.

⁴² James, ed., *Clark Papers, 1781-1784*, 272.

HISTORICAL NOTES

THE LAST RESTING PLACE OF EDWARD D. BAKER

The lure of real-estate values has effaced San Francisco's historic, pioneer, Lone Mountain Cemetery which Colonel E. D. Baker dedicated on May 30, 1854, "to the hope of immortality." It was re-incorporated in 1916 as Laurel Hill Cemetery.

For almost eighty years the body of Colonel Baker has lain in the topmost grave on the cemetery's highest hill, under a large, adequately inscribed, marble table which stood in the center of a circular, grass-carpeted mound, twenty-five feet in diameter and upheld by a three-foot retaining wall of rock, beautiful and dignified, overlooking the city. It was a woman's description of this grave that once brought a reminiscent sadness into the eyes of President Lincoln.

On May 21, 1940, with a few members of Colonel E. D. Baker Camp, Sons of Civil War Veterans, I was present when the sealed, form-fitting cast-iron casket was removed from its small brick tomb.¹ The black coffin was rusted but intact, and the handles still retained much of their silver finish. It was transferred that same day to a new, officers' section in the National Cemetery in the Presidio and buried in the soil of a sloping hillside above the tides of the Golden Gate. What remains of Mary Lee Baker, again lies anonymously by its side. Marking the site there now stands a regulation size stone tablet two feet high inscribed:

Edward
Dickinson
Baker, Sr.
California
Colonel U. S. Army
October 21, 1861

¹ See this *Journal*, Vol. XXXII, no. 2 (June, 1939), 232-35 and Vol. XXXIII, No. 3 (Sept., 1940), 359 for historical notes by F. Lauriston Bullard.

Beside this tablet, numbered 488, is an identical stone numbered 489, inscribed:

Edward
Dickinson
Baker, Jr.
Illinois
Major U. S. Army
January 15, 1883

The mound and the marble table, erected in 1861 by public subscription, are now scattered; what is really permanent though, is fixed in the vivid history of California and the immortal story of Lincoln.

MILTON H. SHUTES.

OAKLAND, CALIF.

ILLINOIS IN THE EYES OF A VISITING SCHOLAR

Dr. Roberta Cortázar, secretary of the Academy of History of Colombia, was invited last spring to visit some universities of the United States. He was one of several distinguished Latin-Americans invited by the government in Washington. Dr. Cortázar was accompanied by his daughter, Mrs. Arango. They both live in Bogotá. They visited Urbana, Illinois, during April. After his return to Bogotá, Dr. Cortázar wrote an account of his trip which was published serially in a newspaper and as a whole in the *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades*. He was very much impressed by the material development of the United States and by the very generous support of education and investigation. His account of his trip includes visits to the following universities: North Carolina, Duke, Vanderbilt, Northwestern, Chicago, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio State, Syracuse, and Harvard. The part dealing with Illinois is translated below. Dr. Cortázar and Mrs. Arango appear to have been very deeply impressed by the Lincoln memorials in Springfield and New Salem.

From Ann Arbor we went on to the city of Urbana, in the State of Illinois. The University of Illinois, which is located there, is of the greatest importance. Supported and maintained by the State, it possesses a thorough-going organization, and its present presi-

dent, Mr. Willard, is a man of complete correctness and attractiveness, whose mere presence inspires at the same time sincere respect and affection. The president's house, which he occupies, is a mansion of impeccable taste, decorated with simplicity; in its arrangement it gives clear indication of the good taste of its occupants.

Teachers in that University are Drs. Arthur Hamilton and John Van Horne, both versed in the Spanish language and in American affairs. Dr. José S. Flores, Spanish by origin, and teacher of Spanish for many years gives classes which are enjoyed by his numerous pupils with enviable application. After half an hour of recitation I spoke to his students about Colombia, and he authorized them to ask me some questions; it was interesting to note that several of them, rising to their feet, asked racial questions, questions about the quality of our climate, oil supply, and one even asked the amount in dollars of the annual budget in Colombia. In the face of my answers, those students appeared to rectify in their minds certain erroneous concepts or false information, because it must be admitted that we are just barely known by the mass of the public as a people who occupy a part of South America.

In a lovely morning drive through farm land in which nature does not resent the art with which it is cultivated, we went to the city of Springfield in company with Mr. and Mrs. Van Horne and Mr. Flores. The purpose of that excursion was to visit the restoration which has been made in the vicinity of the town of New Salem, where Lincoln lived in his youth, and then, in the principal cemetery of Springfield to visit the tomb of the valiant champion of the American Union. The monument that shelters the ashes of the great man is of classic severity and is composed of various parts, adorned with statues, busts, allegorical figures and bronze plaques. Once in the interior one enters the tomb, a small room in the center of which stands out the marble tomb covered with the American flag. Two garlands of fresh flowers, the gift of President and Mrs. Roosevelt and four flags hanging from their staffs, appear to keep guard over the monument. Above, on the cornice, in gold letters, the simplest and most sublime of lapidary expressions: "And now he belongs to the ages."

Nothing more can be said in a small number of words, applied to the man whose memory lives in millions of Americans with the devotion and affection proper in a glory founded on the welfare and happiness of a people.

When we returned from Springfield after dark we held a meeting in the University Club with twelve students who were eager to speak Spanish. We chatted with them for several hours, and in truth they speak it with some facility. . . .

In spite of Washington being what it is, there is no doubt that Springfield carries off the general admiration because it includes

Lincoln's tomb in its precincts. It is difficult to find a monument of greater correctness, placed as it is in the cemetery of the magnificent city. As you approach it you have the feeling of respect, and when you penetrate into the enclosure that preserves the ashes of the great man, covered with the flag of the Union that Lincoln contributed to form, no one doubts that he is in the vicinity of the remains of an extraordinary man; but the emotion is even greater when the spectator raises his glance and encounters these words, written in letters of gold: "And now he belongs to the ages." Why more? Could you desire anything more sublime than that enviable expression applied to a simple man who did for his country what every citizen should do? If that phrase: "And now he belongs to posterity" were in the mausoleum of Bolívar in Caracas, Venezuela and all America might have succeeded in synthesizing in one single thought the glory of the hero. Let us allow the city of Springfield to take pride in its success.

JOHN VAN HORNE.

URBANA, ILL.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

MONTHLY PAY, ETC., OF THE ARMY

ACT 29 SEPTEMBER, 1789

Lieutenant Colonel.....	\$50	Surgeon.....	\$45
Major.....	45	Surgeon's Mate.....	30
Captain.....	35	Sergeant.....	6
Lieutenant.....	26	Corporal.....	5
Ensign.....	20	Musician.....	5
Private.....	\$4		

Adjutant, quartermaster and paymaster to receive each \$10 per month, extra pay.

The secretary at War to ascertain and report to Congress the necessary clothing and rations proper for the troops.

ROBT. H. HALL, comp., *Register of the
Army of the United States* (1889), 8.

THE PRISTINE PRAIRIE

As no one can conceive the sensation awakened by being out of sight of land at sea, till he actually stands on the deck of a vessel, that is ploughing her way through the trackless world of waters that stretch interminably around him, and strains his eye in vain to catch a view of one single fading outline of the far off shore—so no one can conceive the emotion that rises up in the bosom of the traveler as he stands on the broad prairie, and sees the horizon settling down upon one wide sea of waving grass, and can behold around him neither stone, nor stump, nor bush, nor tree, nor hill, nor house. These vast prairies, though bearing a luxuriant growth of grass, would impress one with a sense of desolateness, were they not beautified with flowers, and animated with the songs and the sight of the feathered tribes. The view of the prairie, as it stretches off before you, often appears like a perfect flower garden. Though we were too

late to see these productions in their rich vernal beauty, yet often they stood strewn around us on every side as far as the eye could reach, spreading out their rich and brilliant petals of every colour and hue. An intelligent lady told me that in a single walk over the corner of a prairie, she gathered for a bouquet forty different kinds of flowers; and another informed me that she had been able to gather one hundred and twenty different kinds. Though the music wafted along over these luxuriant expanses of earth be usually not so melodious nor varied as that to which the woodlands echo, there is something very animating in the wheeling of the plover, the chirping of the robin, and the fluttering of the wings of a flock of prairie hens, started up at every half mile of your journey. And then occasionally we saw noble herds of cattle feeding over these vast plains. Such large, and fat, and noble-looking oxen and cows, I never before beheld, as I saw grazing amid the luxuriant prairies of Illinois. There is no fence to stay them in their course:—they range where they choose amid the ten thousands of acres that stretch unenclosed around them.

JOHN A. CLARK, *Gleanings by the Way* (1842), 117-18.

DAYLIGHT SAVING A CENTURY AGO

More Economies—How to Save Oil and Candles—Use sun-light two hours in the morning, and dispense with candles and lamps two hours after 9 P. M. The morning sun-light is much cheaper and better than evening lamp-light.—*Farmer's Monthly Visitor*.

The Union Agriculturist, July, 1841, 53.

STATE HOUSE IN FLAMES

About 2 o'clock on the night of the 9th instant, the State-House, in this place [Vandalia] was discovered to be on fire, and in a very short time it was entirely consumed.¹ So rapid was the progress of the flames that not a single article belonging, or attached to the

¹ This refers to the first state house built in Vandalia.

State-House was saved. All the tables, chairs and benches, except a few which were in the public offices, were consumed by the fire.

The Receiver's office for this land district was kept in one of the rooms of the State-House, and the books, papers and every other article belonging to his office, were completely destroyed [*sic*]. It is difficult to conjecture how it took fire. The house was occupied by the Auditor for the state during the preceding day in selling non-residents' lands for taxes, and he adjourned the sale at noon until the next day. Several gentlemen were in the State-House late in the evening, and there were scarcely enough brands in the fire place to warm their hands.

A subscription paper has been in circulation for a few days since the disaster for the purpose of raising money to rebuild the State-House; whether the citizens of this place and its vicinity will be able to rebuild it, is, at present doubtful.—However, we hope for the better. Upwards of \$3,000 is already subscribed for the purpose of rebuilding it.

Illinois Intelligencer, Dec. 13, 1823.

THE AGE OF FEMININE PERFECTION

Our mothers were among the border beauties of the Great West. They were very plain, untrammelled by stages and ceremonies. They did not have white hands, nor willow waists, and consequently had coarse, awkward, brawny health. Still, in this wilderness, they had much of the refinement belonging to their sex. They had something about them that was womanly and attractive. They did not swear, do, nor say anything that was suggestive of immorality. They associated with men, and very coarse ones, and were intimately acquainted with all their affairs. They were accustomed to the woods and dangers, and learned to be strong of hand and nerve, and to keep cool. They would fight as quick as the men, and many of them were excellent shots and could shoot a deer or turkey as well as bake a hoe-cake. Their necks were sun-burnt, and their hair hung down or was twisted in a little knot on the back of the head. They wore no ruffles, bias stripes or flounces, but had a comeliness of their own. It was not the paltry prettiness of gait nor manners that lent beauty

to their frontier charms, but it was stalwart, untrained grace that made them models of beauty. Their ringlets fell in troublesome abundance and would not be confined. Their cheeks, if they could but know the absence of sunbeam caresses and the boisterous kisses of the wind, would show the clearest marble-white and bonniest bloom. They shuffled their limbs slipshod along trails in search of animals, and of whose sound strength the owner had but little thought. They had arms which split wood and carried water: whose whiteness and mould would fit them rather for the adornment of golden clasps and folds of ancient lace. Their houses were neat and tasty. They had no fine furniture, no bright, baize carpet covered the floor, but in the yard a stump or box contained forest flowers; luxuriant branches of evergreens hung in the corners, and festoons of oak leaves and cypress vines covered the white-washed walls of the house; and pansies, ferns and pinks fringed the walks.

Many of our old ladies look back with tears in their eyes on these fair dwellings. How bright are the scenes, and how sacred are the joys which surround them! Memory wraps a halo of beauty, peace and glory around them, and binds anew their charms to the heart. Little did they care for the smiles of the gay world of fashion that glitter and gleam on the paths of modern belles. While our fathers preached, commanded, hunted and plowed, our mothers spun, wove, cultivated flowers, and exerted every gentle, womanly influence. If a woman wounded the feelings of her neighbor, and a reconciliation had to be effected, some little chord, buried deep under the accumulated debris of pride, indifference and wounded vanity, was struck by a sympathetic hand, and thrilled and quivered into perfect harmony. These little, impulsive acts were genuine inspirations. Many a man has been led to the fold of friendship, and many a woman's life been strengthened by the spontaneous infusion of sympathetic feelings. They loved their husbands, brothers and sons, and were as ready to join them in their sports and amusements, as to share their privations and dangers. They provided lolly-pops for schoolgirls, and ginger-cakes for boys, and flying-mares and swings for festive days.

MILO ERWIN, *Williamson County* (1876), 31-33.

THE GREAT WEST

We have received an interesting, and in some respects, amusing communication from the well known Pioneer of the West, Thomas S. Hinde, at Mount Carmel, Illinois. Its great length and miscellaneous nature precludes its insertion entire, but we must present a few extracts to show what he, who knows it well, deems the Great West to be. Of himself, he says:

This is the 43d year of my pilgrimage in the wilderness of the Great West; having been three times a citizen of Kentucky, twice a citizen of Ohio, twice a citizen of Illinois, and have ranged through the west pretty generally. I saw Daniel Boon [*sic*], the first settler of Kentucky, taking up his line of march from his *Boonsborough* on the Kentucky river, to the then new region of Upper Louisiana (now Missouri) in 1797, accompanied by his venerable spouse, and traveling in the old style with pack horses and *bells*, to his new region of loneliness and buffaloes.

When the west, in 1832, celebrated their first anniversary of 50 years from the first settlement west of the mountains, General Kenton, the associate of Boon [*sic*], was chief, and Mr. Hinde as *Pioneer junior*, acted as adjutant. Mr. Hinde, who we believe is a preacher of the Baptist order, was instrumental in establishing the first Religious Magazine and newspaper, west of the mountains. After a glowing eulogium on the agricultural capabilities of the west, Mr. Hinde says:

As a pioneer of the west, for my residence in the decline of life, and with a view of having my family in a desirable part of the west, I chose the central part of the great Ohio and Mississippi Valley as the most desirable part; connecting the advantages of health, climate, soil, agriculture and commerce, together with manufacturing, looking some 20 or 30 years ahead, as experienced farmers usually do. While during this period, the whole western empire has been overrun and settled, it was not until within a very short time past that the pioneer's *choice* began to be duly appreciated. The object of this letter is therefore to inform you, and northern and southern emigrants generally, who can live without slave labor, that we have, 1st, the best tobacco and hemp region west of the mountains; our tobacco bears two per cent premium in the New Orleans market, over all other tobacco. 2d, we have the best grain and grass country combined, to be found in all the west. 3d, we have an excellent fruit country; also well calculated for the raising the mulberry, and in some degree, the vine; our wild grapes are abundant, and the best I have ever seen. I have pears growing here

(the Bergamot), brought originally from England by my grandfather, some 120 or 130 years since. We want men of business and enterprise, and since business of all kinds has been called to a grand halt, to those who would seek a region where speculation has never raged, where the people are prudent and industrious, where they can find asylum from the fluctuations of the times, our country at the southern termination of the grand prairies, furnishes one of the most desirable places in the west; and to those who think of removing, I would say, "come and see."

Let no one who reads the following extract, doubt hereafter of the *fertility* of the Wabash Valley; taken in connection with the statements of the Cincinnati census-taker, it *almost* establishes the doctrine of spontaneous production. In any event, Mr. Hinde's country must be the very Eldorado of the childless, and where the heart of the once barren sings for joy.

I feel . . . some degree of hesitancy in detailing some very singular facts, but as they are true, I am not ashamed of doing so. You need not call aloud for *emigrants* [we presume Mr. H. means foreigners], to come, for of all regions for the bearing of children, this may safely be said to excel. Twins are quite common, sometimes three at a birth; and what is passing strange, old ladies on removing to this region, renew their vigor, and begin again; some whose youngest were 7, 8, or 10 years old, on arriving here, have added to their family; this is quite common. . . . Last year, a gentleman and lady who had been married nine *long* years, and had no offspring, visited the lady's parents in this place. The visitors [*sic*] resided in Philadelphia, and in nine months from the time they left this place, to return to that city, the lady was blessed with a fine son!

We are pleased to learn from Mr. Hinde's letter, that strenuous efforts are making to furnish this rapidly increasing population with a good education. The great west cannot avoid being a rich country; nature has made it such; the bringing out of its resources must depend on its inhabitants, and the character of these will be governed by the education they receive. Teachers are at present much wanted in that region, and competent ones, will find constant employ. Mr. Hinde himself is about to open a "Log Cabin" college on the manual labor system, for the purpose of giving farmers' boys an education, such as will be useful to them in any station of life. His plan of an agricultural school or college is well conceived, and we trust will succeed; let him "go ahead." We trust Mr. H. will fulfil his intention of allowing us to hear from him again.

Albany Cultivator, Oct., 1840.

NEWS AND COMMENT

Clarence Darrow For the Defense, by Irving Stone,¹ is the first biography of a man as well loved and as ardently hated as any man of our time. As the defender of Eugene Debs in the Pullman strike, counsel for the McNamara brothers, defender of Leopold and Loeb, participant in the Stokes trial, he won a reputation as one of the most effective trial lawyers in the country, but he also drew to himself the intense feelings of millions whose emotions were deeply stirred by the social issues involved in those and many other cases in which he participated.

Clarence Darrow For the Defense is a biography of Darrow, and also a picture of a nation changing fundamentally under the strain of industrialization. The person who wants to understand present-day industrial strife cannot afford to pass it by.



At seventeen, John S. Wright, newly arrived from New England, plunged into business and real estate speculation in Chicago, and by the time he was twenty-one he held property worth several hundred thousand dollars. The Panic of 1837 swept away his fortune, and started him on what was to be his real career—that of prophet and reformer. He founded *The Prairie Farmer*, fought for common schools and teacher-training institutions, urged the formation of a park and boulevard system, promoted railroads, and sang the glories of Chicago incessantly. In the fifties, as a reaper manufacturer and real estate operator, he made another fortune, only to lose it in the Panic of 1857. After the Civil War his mind weakened and gave way, thus putting an end to a remarkable career.

Lloyd Lewis, trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library and author of *Sherman: Fighting Prophet* and other works of history, tells Wright's story in *John S. Wright, Prophet of the Prairies*.² The

¹ Doubleday, Doran. \$3.00.

² Prairie Farmer Publishing Co., Chicago. \$2.50.

book, a well printed, well illustrated volume of some two hundred pages, was issued by the present publisher of *The Prairie Farmer* to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the paper.



When the first number of the *Illinois Monthly Magazine* came off the press in October, 1830, the citizens of Vandalia must have been both proud and astonished—astonished that their little city, still in the pioneer stage of its development, should have produced a general literary magazine, but proud of its achievement.

Editor of the *Illinois Monthly Magazine* and author of half its contents was James Hall, lawyer, judge, banker, and treasurer of the State of Illinois. Hall was already the author of one book—*Letters from the West*, published in London, 1828—and in the next twenty years he was to write a dozen others.

For thirteen years—from 1820 to 1833—Hall lived in Illinois, first at Shawneetown, later at Vandalia. A man of great energy and many interests, he was an important leaven in the life of the young state. In the literary history of the country, moreover, he was a figure of some importance. As Professor Flanagan observes: "At a time when civilization was still in the log cabin period, when physical security was vastly more important than the amenities of social intercourse, Hall maintained high ideals and labored mightily to provide the West with indigenous literary material comparable to that produced in the East. In many ways he failed. In others he merely cleared the path for more successful novelists and editors. But he labored with sincerity and diligence toward a desirable goal, and he has left behind him a handful of stories and a memory that posterity should not willingly allow to perish."

John T. Flanagan's *James Hall, Literary Pioneer of the Ohio Valley*³ is itself a pioneer work—the first book-length account of Hall's life and work. It is an admirable production—modest in size, as befits a study of a man who was not a major figure; considered in its judgments; and written with distinction from a fullness of knowledge so unobtrusive that many readers will be unaware that they are reading a very scholarly book.

³ University of Minnesota Press. \$2.50.

We have not known too much about the Illinois Country during the ninety-two years it was under the rule of France. Too often we have considered the history of this period in terms of romance and adventure, permitting the colorful exploits of a few leaders to obscure our lack of knowledge of the every-day life of the colonists.

Dr. Norman W. Caldwell, in *The French in the Mississippi Valley, 1740-1750*,⁴ takes a different, and historically more valuable approach. His concern is with government, agriculture, the fur trade, and relations with the Indians. Basing his study on original sources, many of them unused before, he gives us the most detailed and reliable account of these subjects. After reading his compact narrative—it runs only to 102 pages—one derives a clearer idea of what life in the Mississippi Valley was like 200 years ago than he is likely to get in a dozen more pretentious books.

Dr. Caldwell's book covers the entire valley, but much of it relates directly and by inference to the Illinois Country. It is as limited in time as it is broad in scope, but the general conditions which the author describes prevailed for a much longer period than the decade specified in his title.



Recent months have seen the publication of three Lincoln books of more than ordinary interest. First, in both chronological order and importance, is *Lincoln and the Radicals*, by T. Harry Williams⁵—a careful but colorful account of Lincoln's relations with Zachariah Chandler, Ben Wade, Thad Stevens and other obstreperous abolitionists of his own party. Certain it is, from Mr. Williams' account, that there was no moratorium on politics during the Civil War. The Radicals played the game shrewdly and selfishly, and in many cases they shaped the course of events. One may doubt, however, if their influence was quite as great as Mr. Williams makes it out to be. There were times when Lincoln played the trump card, and others when the armies in the field constituted a power far greater than any group of politicians. But in spite of this reservation—which is not meant to be a major one—*Lincoln and the Radicals* has all the marks of a permanently valuable contribution.

⁴ University of Illinois Press. Cloth, \$2.00; paper, \$1.50.

⁵ University of Wisconsin Press. \$3.00.

Second in order and value is *Lincoln: His Life in Photographs*, by Stefan Lorant.⁶ This is a Lincoln picture book, the best of its kind to date. Included are all the Lincoln photographs, and some of them are superbly reproduced. There are also photographs of the homes in which Lincoln lived, a number of historic events in which he participated—both inaugurations, for example—some Brady war pictures, and many facsimiles of important letters and documents. On the debit side of the ledger is a needlessly juvenile text, a phony picture of Thomas Lincoln, a picture of Anna Surratt described as one of her mother, and too many inexcusable errors of fact in both text and captions.—A good book, but one which, with less haste, could have been better.

Last and least is *They Knew Lincoln*, by John E. Washington⁷—a book by a Negro about Negroes and their impressions of Lincoln. The first part of the book is essentially folklore. Here are recorded evidences of the religious veneration with which old colored people in and about the nation's capital regarded their emancipator, and also evidences of their superstitious awe of the scene of the assassination. The second part deals with a number of Negroes who were associated, in one way or another, with Lincoln. In the cases of William Johnson, the servant whom Lincoln took to Washington with him, and Solomon Johnson, the barber of the White House, the author has uncovered some interesting correspondence; while his account of Elizabeth Keckley and her book, *Behind the Scenes*, is the only available study of the remarkable mulatto who became Mrs. Lincoln's closest confidante. The book is interesting, but as a whole it lacks sufficient substance to assure it a permanent place on the Lincoln bookshelf.



Brethren in Northern Illinois and Wisconsin,⁸ by John Heckman and J. E. Miller, is a detailed account of the members of the Church of the Brethren, often known as Dunkards, in the region delimited in the title. An unobtrusive sect, German in origin and pietistic in doctrine, the Brethren first made their appearance in northern Illi-

⁶ Duell, Sloan & Pearce, Inc. \$3.00.

⁷ E. P. Dutton & Co. \$3.75.

⁸ Brethren Publishing House, Elgin, Ill.

nois a hundred years ago. Congregations increased slowly, but this book describes the founding and growth of twenty-four churches in Illinois, principally in the Rock River Valley, and ten in southern Wisconsin.

In addition to histories of individual churches, the authors have provided accounts of such Brethren activities as publishing, missionary work, and higher education. The book also contains concise biographies, in the Who's Who fashion, of nearly three hundred prominent members of the Church of the Brethren; and an Appendix in which charter members, pastors, and elders of most of the Brethren congregations are listed.



The history of the Indian inhabitants of Illinois is succinctly related in a pamphlet, *Indians of Northern Illinois*, published by *The Tiskilwa Chief* and distributed by the First State Bank of Princeton. The author is Harry L. Spooner, of Peoria. The narrative begins with what is known of the mound building Indians and concludes with the departure, in 1833, of the last sizable band from Senachwine's village north of Peoria.



Nauvoo, once the home of the Mormons, later the site of the Icarian experiment in communism, continues to hold the interest of tourists and historians. The latest contribution to its growing literature is a booklet entitled *Historic Nauvoo*, edited by Will and Katharine Griffith.⁹ The history of the town is covered in somewhat highly colored fashion by Emma Jane Riley; there are also accounts of the Icarian community and present-day Nauvoo, and a list of historic places. The booklet contains numerous illustrations.



Except for the fact that he gave his name to Shreveport, Louisiana, he has been forgotten for three-quarters of a century. Yet he was the first of the great Mississippi rivermen. He opened the

⁹ Quest Publishing Co., Peoria. Cloth, 75 cents; paper, 25 cents.

American trade on the Upper Mississippi with a trip to the Galena lead mines in 1810; he was captain of the first steamer to make the full up-river trip from New Orleans to the Ohio, and thence to Pittsburgh; he was the designer and builder of the *Washington*, first shallow-draft river steamer and prototype of all later river craft; he built the first snagboat used on the Mississippi, and served as superintendent of western river improvements from 1827 to 1841. He was Henry Shreve, and his story is told, and told well, in *Master of the Mississippi*, by Florence L. Dorsey.¹⁰ The narrative is simple and not too long to be read in an evening, yet in it the author succeeds in describing the development of the Mississippi Valley as well as in sketching the life of the subject of her book. There are some excellent illustrations in color.



Burlington West: A Colonization History of the Burlington Railroad,¹¹ by Richard C. Overton, is an important book on an important subject. However, the disposal of the federal land grants which were made to the Burlington—which is what the book deals with—is a phase of that railroad's history which does not touch directly upon Illinois. Nevertheless, *Burlington West* makes a contribution to the history of this state. The Burlington System originated in Illinois, and here is a concise account of its beginnings and development. In the Appendix, moreover, are accounts of the origin of the Burlington by C. S. Colton and James F. Joy, the two men primarily responsible for its organization. Finally, the Burlington's colonization work was patterned after that of the Illinois Central, and *Burlington West* contains so many references to the latter that it throws no little light upon the land policies and practices of that distinctively Illinois railroad.



Members of a committee on the conservation of cultural resources for Illinois have been named by the National Resources Planning Board. Means of ensuring the safety of art collections,

¹⁰ Houghton Mifflin. \$3.75.

¹¹ Harvard University Press. \$4.50.

scientific and historic objects and documents under the adverse conditions of modern warfare will be developed by this group, which includes the following members: L. Hubbard Shattuck, director and secretary of the Chicago Historical Society; Daniel C. Rich, director of the Art Institute, Chicago; Howard Gloyd, director of the Chicago Academy of Sciences; Carl B. Roden, librarian of the Chicago Public Library; Orr Goodson, assistant to the director of the Field Museum; Thomas R. Hall, supervisor of the State Historical Records Survey; Paul M. Angle, librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library; Edward J. Hughes, librarian of the Illinois State Library; Thorne Deuel, chief of the Illinois State Museum; Lenox R. Lohr, president of the Museum of Science and Industry; Franklyn B. Snyder, president of Northwestern University; John A. Wilson, director of the Oriental Institute; M. Llewellyn Raney, director of the University of Chicago Library; and Carl M. White, director of the University of Illinois Library.



Professor Theodore C. Pease was recently appointed head of the Department of History at the University of Illinois. He succeeds Professor W. S. Robertson who retired in September, 1941.

Professor Pease has been a member of the University's teaching staff since 1914, with the exception of the years 1917-1919 when he was serving in the first World War. In addition to his teaching he is Director of the Illinois Historical Survey, a research library at the University. He is also vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society. From 1920 to 1939 he was Editor of the *Illinois Historical Collections*, publications of the Illinois State Historical Library, and he has served as Editor of *The American Archivist* since the first issue appeared in January, 1938. Professor Pease is also widely known as the author of numerous books and articles in the field of American history.



Plans for erecting a memorial to Dr. T. N. Hasselquist, first president of Augustana College, were made at the November, 1941, meeting of the Augustana Historical Society. The monument will

be made from a stone taken from the foundation of the first building of Augustana College, which was located at Paxton, Illinois.

Each year the Augustana Historical Society publishes a book. In 1942 this publication will deal with the activities of Lutheran bodies which were operating in Illinois in the 1850's.

Officers elected at the November, 1941, meeting of the Society include the following: O. L. Nordstrom, president; O. F. Ander, vice-president; E. W. Olson, secretary; and William F. Baehr, treasurer and curator. George Stephenson, Minneapolis, and Paul M. Angle, Springfield, were chosen members of the editorial staff of the organization.



Members of the Boone County Historical Society met in Belvidere on November 18. Fred Keeler, county superintendent of schools, discussed *Delecta Ann*, a novel by Myna Lockwood, and John Harkless read a history of the Belvidere Y. M. C. A. Forty people were in attendance.

The annual election of officers was held at the January meeting of the Society. Fred Marean was re-elected president; James Huff, R. V. Carpenter and T. F. Beckington were re-elected vice-presidents; and Mrs. Fred Warren was named secretary-treasurer to succeed Harry Curtis who died recently. Frank Shattuck is the new assistant secretary-treasurer, replacing John Tripp who enlisted in the naval reserves.



Miss Hettie Whittaker, Providence, is the new curator of the Bureau County Historical Society Museum at Princeton. Under the leadership of Mrs. Margaret T. Grove, president of the Society, all exhibits have now been catalogued and numbered. The Museum is open on Monday, Wednesday and Friday afternoons.



Miss Janette C. Powell, Jacksonville, spoke on "Twelve Pioneer Women of Illinois" at the October, 1941, meeting of the Cahokia Historical Society. She exhibited figurines of these women, copied from those in the Illinois State Historical Library in Springfield.

Recent excavations in the Cahokia Mounds district were described by C. F. Gergen at the January meeting of the Society. Music for this occasion was furnished by Gene York, Dolores Eisenstein and Theresa Dwyer. A recitation was given by Bernice Sirokos.



Members of the recently organized Englewood Junior Historical Association were honored at the fifth annual dinner meeting of the Englewood Historical Association (Chicago) in December, 1941. Bronze medals were presented to Marjorie Hayden, secretary of the Wentworth chapter, and Thomas Fedorko, president of the Kershaw chapter, for their work in the junior organization. Reports and exhibits of junior chapters' activities during the preceding two months were given by several junior members. Willis E. Tower, president of the senior association, presided at the meeting. Speakers included William H. McDonnell, C. L. Williams, Catherine M. McGuire, John S. Boyle, Raymond S. Blunt and John Drury.



At the December meeting of the South Shore Historical Society (Chicago), Joseph Mercedes presented an illustrated lecture on the historic sites and beauty spots of Wisconsin. Mr. and Mrs. Jack Quigley were in charge of the musical half-hour which preceded the business session.



Former teachers and pupils of the Brown School, Chicago, were guests of honor at the January meeting of the West Side Historical Society (Chicago). From this school have been graduated many persons who later achieved national and world-wide fame. The original building, constructed in 1857, is still in use today. Harry W. Herx, principal of the school, presented highlights in its history. A "Quiz on Chicago History," with students of Steinmetz and Tuley high schools competing, was also a part of the program.



An ambitious program of activities for 1942 was unanimously approved by members of the Des Plaines Historical Society at their

annual meeting on November 18, 1941. Plans for publication of a history of Des Plaines, indexing and codifying the ordinances of the various branches of the city government, indexing all sources of Des Plaines history—all in co-operation with the W. P. A.—are included. A membership of 100 members was another goal set by the Society for the new year.

Witmer Funk was recently named secretary of the Society and Victor W. Richter, former secretary, is managing editor of the *Quarterly*. A subscription to four issues of this publication is included with each membership of the Society, at a cost of \$1.00 annually.



The Edgar County Historical Society is sponsoring publication of a county history. Manford Ettinger, representative of the Federal Writers' Project, is chiefly responsible for the research and writing. Anyone who has family papers, letters or other documents which might be of value in this undertaking is urged to lend them to the project. Mrs. Nina Dulin Russell will act as custodian of such records at the city library in Paris.



An "open house" was held on November 8, 1941, in the new home of the Edwards County Historical Society in Albion. In this home, which was the birthplace of the late Governor Emmerson, a large number of interesting exhibits have been assembled. The living room has been converted into a reading and reference room where the books, maps and manuscripts of the Society can be studied. The home is open each Wednesday evening from 7:00 to 9:00 and at other times by appointment with E. L. Dukes, custodian.

"The Rappite Community of Harmony and its Relation to Edwards County" was the subject of the paper which Mrs. W. A. Wheeler read at the December meeting of the Edwards County group.



The seventieth anniversary of Elmhurst College was celebrated on December 2, 1941. A pageant depicting important events in the history of Elmhurst was presented on December 2 and 3. Paul N. Crussius wrote the play and C. C. Arends supervised its production.

The Evanston Historical Society opened this season's lecture series on November 18, 1941, with an address by Dr. James T. Hatfield, vice-president of the Society. Dr. Hatfield described his recent voyage to South America. At the January meeting, Dr. Thomas F. Holgate related how the Northwestern University dormitories were converted into barracks during World War I.

Mrs. A. L. Foster is the new docent at the Society's Museum in the public library. Museum hours are 1:30 to 5:30 on weekdays and 9:00 to 12:00 on Saturdays.

"Scribe," the magazine of Evanston history published monthly (November through June), is celebrating its third year by appearing in print instead of in mimeographed form. It is published by the junior members of the Evanston Historical Society.



At the meeting of the new board of the Glencoe Historical Society on October 16, 1941, plans were made for the year 1942. Members of the board include: Albert Olson, president; Mrs. Harry K. Booth, vice-president and historian; Charles Saxby, treasurer; Helen Beckwith, secretary and custodian; Mrs. Henry Curtis, program chairman; Grace Grant, social chairman; J. A. Grant, rules committee chairman.

A social meeting for members of the Society and guests was held on November 7. Mrs. Sperry Pope and James K. Calhoun gave short papers preceding the social hour. Mrs. Harry K. Booth and Miss Helen Beckwith poured at the tea table.



A committee of eleven men to supervise the erection of a statue of the late Governor Henry Horner in Grant Park, Chicago, has been named by Governor Green. A fund of \$25,000 was appropriated by the last regular session of the legislature for that purpose.

Members of the committee include the following: Scott W. Lucas, Edward J. Hughes, James M. Slaterry, Oliver R. Barrett, Lloyd Lewis, Carl Sandburg, Robert E. Straus, A. L. Sloan, A. L. Marovitz, Raymond T. O'Keefe, and Paul M. Angle.

The annual meeting and dinner of the Kenilworth Historical Society was held on December 3, 1941. On this occasion members of this Society, whose membership is limited to those who have lived in Kenilworth twenty years or more, were asked to present for admission some memento at least twenty years old. Entertainment at the dinner included the following features: music by the "Gay Nineties" quartet composed of George H. Rigler, Norman Corban, Roy M. Frisby and George Norton; John M. Palmer, dancer; William O. "Bill" Heath, pianist.

Reed G. Landis is president of the Society. Other officers: Harry E. Weese, vice-president; Mrs. Frank A. Gerould, secretary and treasurer; Mrs. Grant Ridgway, custodian; and Mrs. W. M. Branch, historian.



The first annual meeting of the LaGrange Historical Society was held on October 21, 1941. Mrs. A. C. Dallach was re-elected president; Mrs. Grace Howell was chosen vice-president; Mrs. W. L. Dunlop was re-elected secretary; and Roy Bird will continue to serve as treasurer.

Interesting anecdotes were related by a number of old settlers. An exhibit of old newspapers, photographs, and other items donated to the Society was on display on this occasion. Dues of the Society have been reduced from \$1.00 to 50 cents this year.



On March 12, 1892 a small group of McLean County citizens met to organize a county historical society. They elected Judge John M. Scott president, Mrs. J. B. Orendorff vice-president, George P. Davis treasurer and Ezra M. Prince secretary. Since that date the Society has held periodic meetings, has published two volumes of county history, assembled a fine collection of manuscripts, papers and relics dealing with the history of the county, and has been made official custodian of the library and museum in the McBarnes Memorial Building in Bloomington by the McLean County supervisors.

This half-century of activities was appropriately commemorated by the Society at a special meeting on March 10. The committee in

charge of the celebration included Louis L. Williams, J. L. Hasbrouck, Fred Salkeld and Carl Vrooman, with Wayne C. Townley ex-officio member.

At the annual meeting of the Society in January all officers of the Society were re-elected. They include: Wayne C. Townley, president; J. L. Hasbrouck, Mrs. John McBarnes and W. W. Wallis, vice-presidents; Elias W. Rolley, secretary; Louis L. Williams, treasurer; the Reverend Loyal M. Thompson, chaplain; and Mrs. Margaret Hoffman, librarian. Directors include: W. B. Brigham, Preston Ensign, Campbell Holton, Dr. D. D. Raber, Fred Salkeld, Lyman R. Tay and Carl Vrooman.

Seven hundred and ninety visitors registered in the library and museum of the McLean County organization in Bloomington in 1941. This represents a total of 1,000 to 1,200 persons, according to Miss Frayda Macy, librarian and custodian, because many do not sign the register. Nearly every state in the union was represented, though the majority of visitors were Illinois residents.



Plans for the second annual essay contest have been announced by the Morgan County Historical Society. Prizes will be awarded as follows for the seven best papers on subjects relating to Morgan County history: first prize, \$15; second, \$10; five prizes of \$5 each. The contest is open to anyone. Each subject chosen must be registered with the secretary of the Society, Miss Fidelia Abbott, 216 West College Avenue, Jacksonville. Papers must be at least 3,000 words in length and must be submitted by June 1, 1942.

At the October, 1941, meeting of the Morgan County organization, Mrs. Henry W. English discussed Lincoln's visits to Jacksonville. The annual meeting was held on January 16. On this occasion, Miss Bertha Mason discussed Sol Smith Russell, Jacksonville comedian who died in 1902. Officers re-elected for the coming year are: Dr. Carl E. Black, president; Frank Heintz, vice-president; Miss Fidelia Abbott, secretary; and Mrs. Henry W. English, treasurer.



A number of historic sites in the Rock River Valley were visited by members of the Lee County Historical Society in their autumn

pilgrimage on October 19. Preceding the tour, the following program was given at the Dixon High School in Dixon: Enos Keithley, "The Winnebago Indians and Their Village Sites;" Clyde Buckingham, "The Mound Builders;" Mrs. H. C. Warner, "Pierre La Sallier and the Early French Fur Traders;" and J. B. Lennon, "Frontier Justice."



"Early Roads and Trails in Macon County" was the subject of a paper read by Edwin Davis at the December, 1941, meeting of the Macon County Historical Society in Decatur. A sketch of the Rea family written by Miss Mary Ruble was also presented.



The founding and development of Granite City was described by M. E. Kirkpatrick, mayor of that city, at the annual meeting of the Madison County Historical Society in Edwardsville on December 6, 1941. Henry B. Eaton spoke on "Families who had a Part in the Early History of Madison County" and Miss Harriet Smith described recent excavation work at Murdoch's Mound. Instrumental music was furnished by Rose Mary Beck, Geraldine Meikamp, Lucille Troeckler, and Dolores Shashek.

Officers elected for the ensuing year are: Mrs. Mark Henson, Collinsville, president; Norman G. Flagg, Moro, and Mrs. Harry Meyer, Alton, vice-presidents; Douglas E. Dale, Edwardsville, secretary; E. W. Ellis, St. Jacob, treasurer; Mrs. Anna Burton, Edwardsville, historian; Edward W. Burroughs and Herbert C. Crocker, program committee. Directors re-elected for three years are: Mrs. Mark Henson, Collinsville; John Leef, Highland; Mrs. Ella Auwarter, Troy; Mrs. Jennie L. Kaeser, Highland; Mrs. E. C. Bardelmeier, Hamel; and Frank E. Culp, Bethalto. Mrs. Harry Bryan was named to succeed Mrs. Agnes McKee and Judge Henry B. Eaton to succeed the late John R. Sutter.



A huge boulder dedicated to the memory of the volunteer soldiers of the Civil War who camped west of Ottawa was dedicated in Ottawa on December 4. This boulder originally marked the first

burial place of William Hickling, first mayor of Ottawa, whose body was later moved to Chicago. The stone was subsequently covered and forgotten until it was discovered last summer, a few feet underground.

Sponsors of the memorial include the Ottawa War Mothers, the Women's Relief Corps, the American Legion Auxiliary, the Daughters of the American Revolution, Spanish American and World War I Veterans, the Ottawa Memorial Association, the Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls and other civic and patriotic groups. Captain R. C. Woodward was in charge of the dedicatory program.



Highlights of Quincy and Adams County history were presented by Charles F. Eichenauer when members of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County held a dinner meeting on December 4, 1941. Following this address, Mrs. Perry Hoeffler showed slide-pictures of old Quincy scenes and buildings. The meeting was held at the Society's building in Quincy.



The following program of meetings for March, April and May has been planned by the Peoria County Historical Society:

March 16—R. B. Terhune, "The Story of the Caterpillar;" E. C. Bessler, "A Steamboat Tragedy of 1852."

April 20—Floyd L. Barloga, "Indian Mounds and House Sites in the Peoria Vicinity;" Mrs. Rowan Ray, "Biographies of Prominent Peorians of the Past."

May 18—O. F. Lyman, "The Rise and Development of the Association of Commerce;" G. R. Barnett, "Little Known Facts about the Illinois River Deep Waterway."

William H. Eyre discussed "One Hundred Years of Hotels in Peoria" and Booth Williamson spoke on "The History of the First Presbyterian Church in Peoria" at the January meeting of the Society. The February meeting included "A History of St. Mary's Catholic Church" by Mrs. Nana E. Stitely and "The Growth of Supervised Recreation in Peoria" by Barney B. Maticka.

At the October meeting of the Rock Island County Historical Society in Andalusia, Mrs. Louis J. Alsterlund, Rock Island, read a paper on "Charles Dickens' Sons." She mentioned especially Jefferson Dickens, who died and was buried in Moline. At this meeting, also, Harry J. Lytle, Davenport, Iowa, showed films of Lincoln's life at New Salem.



An old-time interview was a feature of the November, 1941, meeting of the St. Charles Historical Society. E. T. Cassidy, a business man in St. Charles for sixty-five years, was interviewed by Miss Alice Davis. Mr. Cassidy was born in St. Charles in 1854 and at the age of twenty-two opened a barber shop on Main Street.



Mrs. Florence Pusey Swank, Indianola, Illinois, died in Danville on November 22, 1941. Founder of the Century Club at Indianola and vice-president of the Vermilion County Historical Society, Mrs. Swank was actively interested in the work of recording and preserving the history of Vermilion County.



The Williamson County Historical Society held its semi-annual meeting on January 13 in Marion. The following officers were re-elected for the year: Fred G. Harrison, president; Mrs. Estelle P. Colp, vice-president; L. A. Sanders, secretary; E. M. Stotlar, treasurer; and Mrs. Nannie G. Parks, archivist. Members voted to purchase United States savings bonds with the funds in the Society's treasury.



The Winnebago County Historical Society held its annual meeting in Rockford on January 10. Henry C. Bloom, mayor of Rockford, was elected to succeed the late Judge Thomas E. Gill as a member of the board of trustees. All officers of the Society were re-elected. They include: J. B. Whitehead, president; Earl F. Elliot, first vice-president; Miss Sara Marks, second vice-president; Dr. Isabel R.

Abbott, secretary; Sumner Miller, treasurer; Frank S. Edmison, assistant treasurer; Miss Jane P. Hubbell, historian; Charles E. Herrick, curator; Miss Marie Crotty, assistant curator; and John H. Page, board attorney.

CONTRIBUTORS

Oswald Garrison Villard is known to millions as the former editor of the *New York Evening Post* and the *New York Nation*, and as the author of *John Brown, 1800-1859* and *Fighting Years; Memoirs of a Liberal Editor*. . . . Mildred Eversole is Assistant Editor in the Illinois State Historical Library. . . . Stanley Faye, Aurora, Illinois, is the author of a number of articles on the French and Indian period of American history, several of which have appeared in this *Journal*.

TABLE OF CONTENTS ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN WAR TIME <i>Richard L. Beyer</i>	107
A FORGOTTEN EVANSTON INSTITUTION: THE NORTHWESTERN FEMALE COLLEGE <i>Dwight F. Clark</i>	115
DID ABRAHAM LINCOLN RECEIVE THE ILLINOIS GERMAN VOTE? <i>Jay Monaghan</i>	133
THE UNIQUE CAREER OF AN ILLINOIS MUSICIAN <i>Lorene Martin</i>	140
AUDUBON'S "JOURNEY UP THE MISSISSIPPI" <i>Edited by John Francis McDermott</i>	148
THE ILLINOIS HISTORICAL RECORDS SURVEY: A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ITS PUBLICATIONS <i>Thomas R. Hall</i>	174
HISTORICAL NOTE <i>Margaret Carlock Harris</i> , "What's in a Name?"	180
THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK.....	184
NEWS AND COMMENT.....	194
CONTRIBUTORS.....	205

ILLUSTRATIONS ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

WILLIAM P. JONES, JR.....	117
NORTHWESTERN FEMALE COLLEGE, 1856.....	123
NORTHWESTERN FEMALE COLLEGE, A VIEW TAKEN FROM SHER- MAN AVENUE.....	127
ARCHITECT'S DRAWING FOR THE EVANSTON COLLEGE FOR LADIES..	131
ALBERT MORRIS BAGBY.....	143

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN WAR TIME

BY RICHARD L. BEYER

THE United States has now been a participant in the Second World War for one-half year. In those six months the nation has undergone a tremendous transition from peaceful pursuits to total war effort. Many of the practices and institutions that prevailed before Pearl Harbor have been abandoned or greatly modified. Industry has geared itself to war production, and much of its normal output has been suspended. Education has altered its old procedures, and is adjusting itself to wartime requirements. Many cultural and recreational enterprises have gone into eclipse "for the duration."

As American society makes these adjustments in time of emergency, there is a tendency to question the validity of most of our existing institutions. For example, the athletic world has been asking which of its activities might best be retained, modified, or abolished. The members of the country's historical societies—national, state, regional, and local—are raising many questions about their role, if any, in the war effort. Should the historical societies be dissolved during the war period? Should they alter their usual procedures? Are they justified in asking support from their members in a time when many other demands are imposed upon the people of the nation?

Careful inventory of the functions of the historical society has led many persons to the conclusion that it has a very important relationship to the war effort, and that it is one institution that deserves to be maintained and strengthened during the present national crisis.

The American people have been told repeatedly since December 7, 1941, that the fundamental purpose of this war is to defend our way of life, that we are struggling to save our institutions from being forcibly replaced by the less desirable institutions of the Axis. If these American institutions are worth fighting for abroad, they are certainly worth working for at home. As President Robert M. Hutchins told the faculty of the University of Chicago earlier this year:

Victory cannot save civilization. It can merely prevent its destruction by one spectacular method. Since civilization was well on its way to destruction before the war began, success in the war will not automatically preserve it. The domination of the world by England, the United States, and Russia is not identical with civilization. The victory of these powers gives mankind a better chance to be civilized than their defeat. Whether or not mankind will take that chance depends on the kind of intellectual, moral and spiritual leadership it has.¹

Speaking of the role of the artist—and here we use the word in the largest sense—in war time, Deems Taylor recently said:

People need his [the artist's] products, even if they may not be conscious of needing him. For his is the supreme task of reminding them that wars do not last forever, that life is not all bloodshed and desolation; of giving them a glimpse of a world in which killing is not all-important—the world that we are fighting to preserve.²

¹ Robert M. Hutchins, "The University at War," an address to the faculty of the University of Chicago, Jan. 7, 1942.

² Talk by Deems Taylor in connection with New York Philharmonic-Symphony Concert, Jan. 18, 1942.

Certainly the home front would be guilty of gross neglect if it refused to preserve in America those very institutions and ways that our boys have gone all the way to Australia, Burma, Iceland, the British Isles and other distant places to defend.

Cultural tastes of the American people differ widely. To some the preservation of our culture means mainly our literature, to others music, to still others the drama or the fine arts. To thousands of Americans it means the study of our history and the maintenance of those agencies that best foster it—the historical societies. In our great crusade to preserve those phases of our national life that many cherish, the historical society takes high rank among the cultural institutions that have helped to make America what it is.

One of the functions of history is to promote patriotism and the love of one's country. In war time, devotion to the nation is essential. Besides the schools, there are no institutions in America better fitted to encourage the study of history than the historical societies. Their meetings, exhibits, and publications are concerned with the material of the past, the knowledge of which fosters national pride and contributes to better citizenship.

Sylvester K. Stevens, executive secretary of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, has written:

History should become a tool of the utmost importance in welding that national spirit which is so needed today. It should not be overlooked that the totalitarian foes of democracy have relied upon it to develop blind obedience to Nazi and Fascist ideals. The exhibition of morale and courage which has characterized the English people in their hour of deadly peril has been rooted deeply in their reverence of past traditions and pride in the historic accomplishments of England. "There'll always be an England" is a battle cry which voices a faith in the future which could come only from a

deep conviction that England rests firmly on the great traditions of a glorious history.³

Eliminate the historical society, and one of the principal means of providing the background for our much-needed patriotism is gone. It is difficult to see what institutions could be developed to replace it. Instead of the historical society retreating in this crisis, it might well multiply its activities, and spread through the nation the chronicle of the American heritage. Public schools and colleges can reach only a part of the people. Furthermore, the trend in some of the colleges today is to specialize in that type of training which will specifically prepare youths for the fighting services or for work in war industries. A United States admiral recently advised a young man interested in naval training to "pay particular attention to mathematics and the development of mechanical skills." His advice was born of national necessity, and should be followed, but one may still regret the decreased attention to historical study that is likely to result from it.

For those out of school who need to have their patriotism refreshed at the spring of history, the historical society can be most valuable. The society not only can help develop proper attitudes and a deep appreciation of this country, but in its role of disseminating information, it can be an instrument of adult education. Also, the adult members of historical societies can assist the public schools in instilling love of country in young people. Societies can sponsor exhibits, patriotic lectures, and radio broadcasts, and publish literature that will influence all elements in this nation.

³ Sylvester K. Stevens, "Local History and Winning the War," *The American Association for State and Local History Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Jan., 1942), 28.

Another function of the historical society in war time is the collecting and preserving of material related to this war—newspapers, books, pamphlets, letters, posters, diaries. These will be of great interest and value after the war. The task of collecting this material cannot be adequately performed by a few national agencies and libraries, and the historical society should do its part to save, for future reference and study, the story of America's role in the Second World War.

Both during and after this war there will be interest in the part played by different localities. The state historical society should preserve the records of the entire commonwealth, while the local society should keep the accounts of the people in its community. In later years, when anyone desires to know what Chicago, Peoria, or Benton did by way of contributing manpower, operating a civilian defense program, assisting the Red Cross, buying war bonds, conserving material, or rationing automobile tires and sugar, a historical society that has been an alert custodian will have the information available. Probably no definitive, detailed account of the United States in the Second World War can ever be written unless the historical societies make serious efforts to collect and preserve contemporary material.

An active historical society can be of great assistance to the young men in the service. The Victory Book Campaign is now familiar to all Americans. A big-hearted historical society can make a real contribution by sending books to camp libraries. Moreover, the members of societies, by virtue of their knowledge of books on historical subjects (which have proved to be popular in the camps), can make wise selections, and can guarantee that lively, readable works of history—and historical

fiction, too—will be available. Those historical societies that have libraries, reading rooms, and museums can also do a fine service to the soldier who may be spending a few hours in a town. The sight of the stranded soldier, bored, broke, neglected, is all too familiar, and the hospitality of a gracious organization that makes its exhibits and books available is certain to be appreciated.

This war is witnessing a great movement of population, particularly into those areas that have new war industries. Several of these plants are in Illinois. Many of the newcomers are complete strangers in the regions into which they are moving. Here the historical society can perform another service. As Dixon Ryan Fox said in his address to members of the Illinois State Historical Society in Bloomington in 1938: "I know of no way to make a stranger into a friend so effectively as to introduce him to your interests, particularly when your interest is in the home background of the place where he has come to live."⁴ The truth of this remark is borne out by a letter I recently received from a woman in Williamson County. The great Illinois Ordnance plant is being built near her city. Hundreds of out-of-state people have poured into this region. My correspondent sends a request for a speaker who will talk to these strangers about Illinois history so that they will know the background and the traditions of their new location. In cases such as these, historical societies can sponsor programs devised to assist newcomers in adjusting themselves to their unfamiliar environment.

Still another function of the historical society is to

⁴ Dixon Ryan Fox, "Must State History Be Liquidated?" *Papers in Illinois History*, 1938 (Springfield, 1939), 9.

create opportunities for the harassed public to get a bit of relief, a respite from the constant strain and pressure of war. During the past few months a few hysterical journalists have been screaming, *ad nauseam*, that the American people aren't aware of this war, that they do not realize its seriousness. With this point of view I find myself in disagreement. The American people are only too aware of the war. In just a few months 4,000,000 young men will be in the armed forces. The rest of the nation is working harder and longer, paying staggering taxes, buying bonds, assisting with civilian defense, and denying itself a multitude of commodities. Merely because the public is not ranting and roaring does not mean that it is apathetic. The war is with us constantly—it cannot be eliminated from our minds. The tremendous strain and worry, if unrelieved, will inevitably have its devastating mental and physical effects. The time may come when emphasis on the *raising* of morale may have to be changed to the *saving* of morale. An exhausted, fatigued, nerve-shattered nation can contribute nothing to the war effort. But a nation that has had opportunities to refresh itself mentally and physically will be in shape to fight on to the ultimate victory. This was recognized by the President of the United States when he gave organized baseball the signal to go ahead with its 1942 program.

And just as baseball can provide relief and recreation and escape for millions, so can the historical society. Its activities can help us to forget the war, if only for a moment. At least two historical societies in this state have already learned this. The Illinois State Historical Society for some months had planned a spring pilgrimage and meeting in Galena. When America became a

belligerent in the war, the officers and directors of the Society wondered whether, because of the national emergency, this meeting should be held. The many affirmative answers were testimony to the desire, and possibly the actual need, of the outing at Galena on May 16. The Southern Illinois Historical Society sponsored a very successful pilgrimage to Shawneetown last June. Another journey—possibly to Old Kaskaskia—was tentatively arranged for June 27 of this year. Should this be undertaken? The President of the Society made dozens of inquiries, and at least at this writing there has not been one single disapproving voice. Indeed, every person polled urged that the trip be taken, arguing that it would provide mental relaxation or that "it is good to have a chance to recall your country's history in war time."⁵

Thus it may be argued that instead of the historical society abandoning its work for the duration, there are many services that it can and should perform. America and the nation as a whole will be the poorer if we members of such societies fail to answer these unmistakable challenges. The response depends on us.

⁵ Since this paper was written the Southern Illinois Historical Society held its annual meeting in Benton. Is the fact that the attendance at this gathering was twenty percent larger than that of any previous meeting of the organization an indication of the interest in and need for the historical society in war time?

A FORGOTTEN EVANSTON INSTITUTION: THE NORTHWESTERN FEMALE COLLEGE

BY DWIGHT F. CLARK

I

TWO sons of a minister, both college graduates with enthusiasm and convictions too advanced to be popular in 1855, purchased from the Reverend Philo Judson, agent of Northwestern University, the entire block in Evanston bounded by what is now Greenwood Street and Chicago, Lake and Sherman avenues. This was then the extreme south end of the platted village.¹

Educational opportunities for girls in the Middle West, as well as in the East, were limited to female seminaries, referred to either with affection or contempt as "fem-sems." Many people at that time questioned the necessity for much education for girls and certainly questioned their ability to assimilate or profit from college training. The younger of the two sons, William P. Jones, a graduate of Allegheny College, was, at the time, principal of the Peoria Female Seminary, which was sponsored by the then young lawyer, Robert J. Ingersoll. Mrs. John L. Beveridge of Evanston, whose husband was later Lieutenant-Governor and Governor

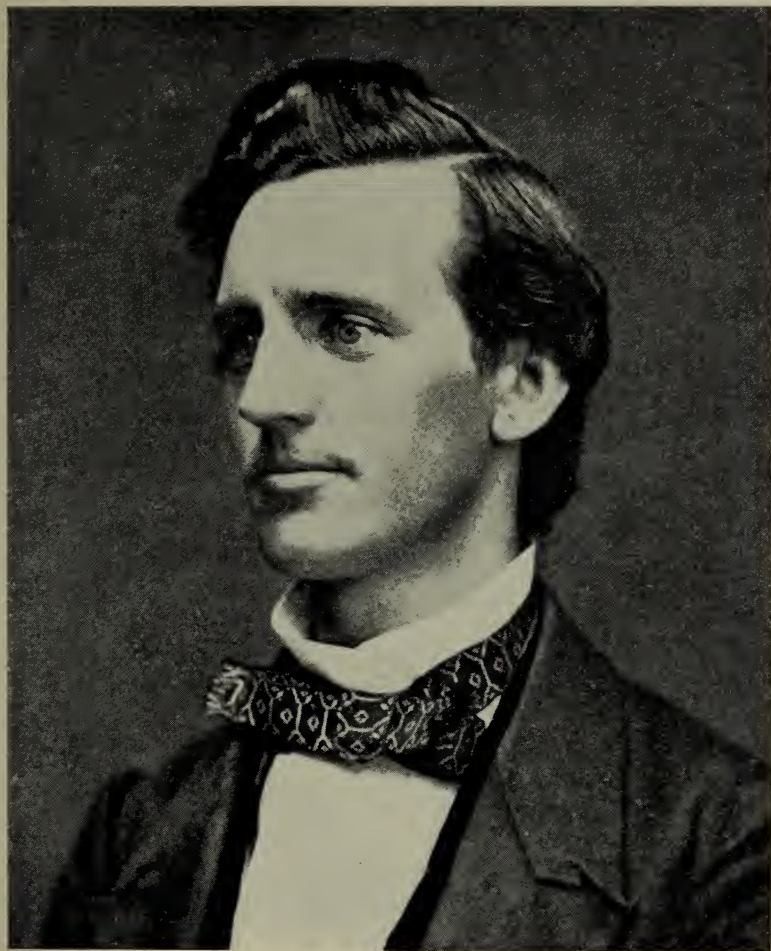
¹ The original purchase from Philo Judson by J. Wesley Jones was presumably made at a reduction under an agreement that the preparatory department of the Northwestern Female College would receive boys as well as girls, thus becoming a feeder for the University. At the time there were very few high schools anywhere, the one established in Chicago in 1856 being one of the first in the West and perhaps the first coeducational one in America.

of Illinois, had begun, in 1854, to gather children for school work over Colvin's store in Evanston. Her conference with William P. Jones at a meeting at the Rock River Seminary at Mt. Morris, Illinois, resulted in his coming to Evanston to open a preparatory school. This became the nucleus of the Northwestern Female College.

The older brother, Colonel J. Wesley Jones, a graduate of McKendree College, had prospered in California gold, had avoided the grain market speculation incident to the Crimean War, by which many fortunes were made and lost, and had become widely known through his pantoscopic exhibition, in many college towns, of daguerreotypes of the little known wild west, taken during his travels. He had previously studied law in Springfield, Illinois, and now owned an investment business in Brooklyn.

These two brothers had become early advocates of higher education for women, beyond that available at the fem-sems, of collegiate rank equivalent in every way to what Harvard and Yale offered to men. College courses were open to women at that time only at Oberlin and Antioch colleges in Ohio. Mt. Holyoke Seminary, in Massachusetts, did not become a college until 1888, but many seminaries were adopting the name "college" without properly advancing their curricula. Together the Jones brothers made an extensive tour of eastern colleges to study methods and curricula, and while there inspired Matthew Vassar and Henry Durant to found respectively Vassar and Wellesley colleges.

Returning to Evanston the following year, William P. and J. Wesley Jones built, with the help of their two other brothers, Charles and Joseph, a four-story building for the first Northwestern Female College. When re-



WILLIAM P. JONES, JR.

President and founder of the Northwestern Female College.



ferred to by Northwestern University students as the "fem-sem" or by others as a "seminary," its founders and students resented that classification.

The first building was frame, as were the two other educational buildings then in Evanston—Old College, Northwestern University's first building at Davis Street and Hinman Avenue, and Dempster Hall of the Garrett Biblical Institute on the present campus. But it was larger and more pretentious than either of the latter. William P. Jones had already spoken at the Rock River Conference of the Methodist Church and throughout Illinois wherever churches were available and people would listen to his plea for higher education for women. He thus gained for his institution the support of such men as John Dempster, Daniel P. Kidder, Henry Bannister and Francis D. Hemenway, all from Garrett Biblical Institute. Also John L. Scripps, formerly a professor at McKendree College but at this time a Chicago newspaper editor, had helped the new institution. Furthermore, the father of the Jones boys had been a Methodist preacher at Rockford, Waukegan, Mt. Morris, Peoria, Alton, and other towns. He no doubt spoke favorably of the college wherever he could.

And now, as described in the reminiscences of J. Wesley Jones, it was possible through the latter's financial help and William P. Jones's scholastic attainments to open a new college for women "to afford young ladies ample facilities for a thorough collegiate education near home and amid such rural seclusion as will secure every possible guaranty for health, morals, and refinement." The facilities afforded "a lecture room, recitation rooms, a library and the modern conveniences of ventilation and bathing." The rooms were heated by indi-

vidual wood stoves cared for by the girl occupants. The janitor brought up wood and took away the ashes left in the hall outside each door.

Quoting again from the records of J. Wesley Jones:

Opening it for the fall term (1855) we filled it to the utmost capacity of the building, and many students had to board in the village, our total enrollment being 84. I was the financial man, turning into the enterprise all my financial earnings. My brother, who had made a splendid reputation as principal of the Peoria Female Seminary, was the literary life and soul of the institution. In the west the famous Monticello Seminary, near Alton, Illinois, led the female schools. The Peoria Seminary led them all in higher education under the inspiration of my brother, who afterward, in a larger field, held the banner of higher education for women so high advanced as to attract the attention of the educational world. The Harpers had learned of my travels over the great plains and Rockies, and of my large collection of daguerreotypes and pencil sketches of the entire route, and sent their illustrative artist, Mr. B. J. Lossing, since celebrated as an historian of our country, to get some of my pictures for their magazine.

On Christmas Eve of the first college year, the frame building burned to the ground while all the young lady students were in Chicago shopping, or home for the holidays. There was no fire department, and the bucket lines of citizens and Northwestern University and Garrett Biblical students, passing water to the fire, had little effect on the blaze. William P. Jones, himself emptying buckets on the fire where most needed, had to have his frozen clothes cut off, and nearly died from pneumonia following his prolonged exposure. A heavy storm of sleet had covered the trees with ice.

The months that followed were full of dark hours for the Northwestern Female College founders. No insurance money was available because policies applied for were delayed in delivery although the demands of insurance inspectors had been promptly fulfilled. All that was

left to encourage the Jones brothers to undertake reconstruction after the fire was the confidence that since a new college for the higher education of women had been built and overcrowded with students its very first year, such an institution, even though burned, must go on. But the contemplated rehabilitation revealed a coldness on the part of Northwestern University trustees that was reflected in many of the citizens who might be financially able to help. The Female Seminary was a private institution of learning, without an endowment, which the founders proposed to and did support solely by tuition fees and which had not yet received its charter from the state. Therefore, funds now given for rebuilding must be regarded purely as a speculation. The proposed university status of Northwestern, a chartered corporation owning hundreds of acres of land, contemplated a breadth in education that stood out in sharp contrast to the somewhat restricted sphere of the new college, whose proposed immediate reconstruction, apparently well justified after a first successful year, still might be reckoned as an experiment. The university itself was only beginning, was in great need of funds, and felt entitled to the priority of any donations of citizens or churches in its immediate area. The fact that that college had eighty-four students its first year, including its preparatory pupils, while the university had only ten, could be calculated to emphasize the jealousy already existing toward the Northwestern Female College. The university undoubtedly resented the duplication in the little village of the name "Northwestern," and the aggressiveness and ambition of J. Wesley Jones for his brother's success may not have been particularly popular. Later, on the eve of the first commencement exer-

cises of the college, the university requested the college to drop the name "Northwestern" because it led people to believe that the college was a part of the university.

Here in the Evanston wilderness, Bishop Matthew Simpson had laid the cornerstones of both the first Northwestern University building and the first Northwestern Female College building on the same day, June 15, 1855. The Bishop placed the cornerstone of Old College at what was to be, after village development, Hinman Avenue and Davis Street, the same frame building that was later moved and still stands on the University campus today. The ceremony was witnessed by the trustees, faculty and students of the university, the citizens of the village and about 300 guests, including editors John L. Scripps and Charles L. Wilson of the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Chicago Journal* respectively, all of whom had come from Chicago by train for the occasion.

The Northwestern Female College had no stone ready, for the ceremony had not long been prearranged, but a boulder from the lake shore was quickly procured to serve as a cornerstone. At the conclusion of the laying of the cornerstone of Old College Building for Northwestern University, while the trustees, faculty, clergy and prominent citizens were still on the platform, Bishop Simpson, at the request of J. Wesley Jones, rose and invited those present to witness the laying of the cornerstone of the Northwestern Female College. Most of the guests walked the short distance through the grove to the college site. It is said that the invitation was generally regarded as a pleasant courtesy, but it was looked upon by the university trustees as a presumption whereby a considerable amount of the university's thun-

der was confiscated. Out of this circumstance the coolness of John Evans, Philo Judson and the university trustees toward the college is supposed to have been born.

In those early days Northwestern University had to sell \$100 scholarships, which covered not only the purchaser's tuition, but also that of the oldest succeeding sons for generations, and often had to give its early professors building lots when the treasurer could not pay salaries. Coeducation was not popular and there was not enough sentiment at the time in favor of cultivating a woman's school as a future university department. Moreover, the courtesy of the class rooms that the university had generously turned over to the female college students in the fire emergency, could not be longer extended. Finally, sympathetic people called a meeting to devise means to help restore the college, but sentiment was not strong enough for action. Chicago interests offered to purchase the burned-over Jones property and, when refused, threatened to build a rival school on the "west ridge" that would make the rebuilding of the burned school futile. The village of Highland Park, now a north shore suburb of Chicago, made an offer of \$5,000 and twenty acres of land if the Northwestern Female College should be rebuilt there.

The Jones boys, however, were determined to continue their school in Evanston. They had applied to the state for the charter that would give the new school a substantial background. They opened the winter term in the local schoolhouse and, on February 25, 1856, occupied the Buckeye Hotel on the east side of the West Ridge just north of what is now Noyes Street. Charles and Joseph Jones were placed in charge of erecting the proposed new building.

When Chicago newspapers printed dispatches announcing the approval of the Northwestern Female College charter, by both houses of the Illinois legislature in January, 1857, several Evanston citizens including some Northwestern University officials, sent telegrams to the Governor urging him not to sign the bill. There is reason to believe that, owing to illness, the Governor had not seen these telegrams before J. Wesley Jones went to Springfield to talk to the Governor and to recruit a delegation of friends to visit him. Among those who helped in the signing of the charter were William's friend, Professor Daniel J. Pinckney of the Rock River Seminary at Mt. Morris, and J. Wesley's college friend, "Johnny" Logan, then leader of the Democrats in the Illinois General Assembly and later a general in the Civil War. The college bill was approved on January 19, 1857. Possessed of sufficient bank credit, J. Wesley Jones joined his brother, now recovered from pneumonia, in raising enough money for completion of a new five-story frame edifice on their property. The school reopened the following autumn for the realization of fourteen more years of successful pioneering in the higher education of women.

Lydia M. Hayes, who married Dr. J. Walter Waugh, an intimate friend of Professor Jones, had been the first student, and among the later students were Francis E. Willard and the daughter of General John A. Logan.

A diary of a young girl from Elgin, written in the solitude of her room in the Northwestern Female College which, like all women's institutions of the day had hundreds of rules beginning "Don't" or "You must not" or "It is forbidden that," admitted that she was homesick and that mail from Elgin was slow. "But,"



NORTHWESTERN FEMALE COLLEGE, 1856

Located on Chicago Avenue between Greenwood and Lake Avenues.



she continued: "I must learn to be happy here in this fine building in a town of beautiful trees on a beautiful lake for I know that I cannot take the long journey home for Christmas vacation."

No story is complete without a touch of romance. A very happy marriage took place between Professor William P. Jones and the "lady principal," a graduate of Mt. Holyoke, whom he had brought to Evanston the first year. She had previously lived in Rock Island, where she was struggling to establish a school for young ladies. Her views on the higher education of women were as advanced as those of the founders of the school she was now serving. Her popularity with the students and her graciousness to the citizens of Evanston, coupled with the increasing success of the school and its administrative prosperity, combined to assist in eliminating the local prejudice that might have closed the institution in the dark hours of its first year.

Those who are interested in the fight, during the fifties, for the higher education of women, will enjoy one of the addresses of William P. Jones, available at the library of the Evanston Historical Society, which he delivered in many churches in Illinois and nearby states during his campaign of 1854 to 1856. From the arguments he advanced one must conclude that little interest in the new movement prevailed among the rank and file of the audiences he addressed.

The records show that the 1850-1860 decade was epochal for the development of education in Chicago's classic suburb which was beginning to be known as the "Athens of the West."

The Northwestern Female College now continued to prosper with increasing attendance. A long-time resi-

dent of Evanston, whose grandfather, Dr. Erastus Otis Haven, a few years later was called from the presidency of the University of Michigan to become the first co-educational president of Northwestern, and whose father (Dr. Otis Erastus Haven, a physician) and his family were occasionally invited to the college for dinner, remembers as a child that students, faculty and guests stood behind their chairs until all had found places and until grace was said.

Tuition for twenty weeks was \$10 to \$20, and board, room and fuel amounted to \$2.50 per week. Visiting hours were from 2:00 to 5:00 on Saturdays, and all the young men had to be either introduced by their parents or approved by the faculty.

William P. Jones became ill again in 1862. His brother, J. Wesley Jones, and his friends induced President Lincoln to send him to China as consul, where he spent six years with his wife and two children. During the interim, Mrs. Lizzie Mace McFarland became acting president, Josiah Willard, father of Frances, was for a time president of the Board of Trustees, Miss Luella Clark taught belles-lettres and Miss Willard taught science. The Reverend Dr. L. H. Bugbee came in 1865 and was president until 1868 when W. P. Jones, restored to health, returned from China, and, with Professor A. F. Nightingale, later Cook County Superintendent of Schools, conducted the school until 1871.

About this time there developed an increased interest in coeducation among Evanston women. They knew that Mrs. Eliza Garrett hoped that the money left by her might some day warrant the founding of a college for women, but they also knew that the Garrett Biblical Institute, already in its sixteenth year, had to have all

possible present funds for its own maintenance and preservation.

Mrs. Mary F. Haskins, a leader among women in Evanston, in recognizing the invaluable pioneer work of Professor Jones, said she felt that no private institution could measure up to the university demands for what might eventually become the Women's Department of Northwestern. The ultimate affiliation with a university had now become the ideal of all who were advocating the higher education of women. Mrs. Haskins went to "Mrs. Bishop Hamline," widow of Bishop Leonidas L. Hamline, who pledged help, and to the Reverend Dr. Bannister, president of the board of trustees of Northwestern Female College, who said, "It is just the thing to do."

So, in 1868, an Educational Association was formed, with Mrs. Haskins as its first president. In 1869 the Evanston Village Board gave to this association the park bounded by Orrington Avenue, University Place, Sherman Avenue, and Clark Street. This ground, along with other park sites, had been previously deeded by the university to the village as a gift for development. A charter was obtained for the Evanston College for Ladies from the legislature by Edwin S. Taylor, fifteen ladies were made trustees, the faculty was composed entirely of women and, in February, 1870, Miss Frances E. Willard was elected president of the new institution. During the fifteen years just concluded the university had graduated forty-one students while the Female College had graduated seventy-two.

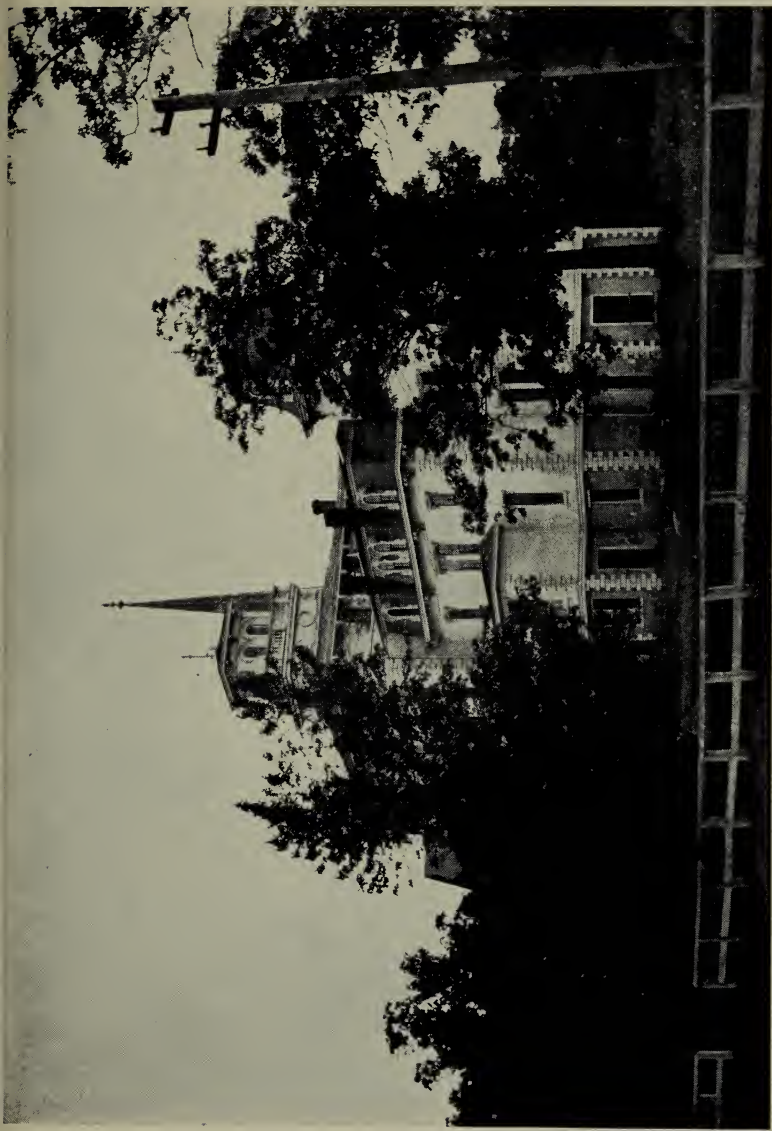
II.

A review of Chicago newspapers during the sixteen years of existence of Northwestern Female College from

1855 to 1871 suggests that it played an important part in placing Evanston on the map as a midwestern educational center. During the formative and reconstruction period of the college from 1855 to 1858, the *Chicago Democratic Press*, *Chicago Journal*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Chicago Republican*, *Chicago Daily Press and Tribune*, and the *Christian Advocate* of those years were among the publications whose files reveal occasional articles, news items and editorial comment on the new institution for the higher education of women.

These publications were favorable in their support of the Jones brothers' zeal in the conduct of a school for the previously neglected education of women. They idealized the location near the lake, removed from the turmoil, diseases and temptation of the city, protected by the Northwestern University charter from the baneful effects of the liquor traffic, and in a locality rapidly being populated by families attracted by the literary and natural advantages of the place. They congratulated those of their readers who were blessed with daughters on their good fortune in no longer needing to travel the great distance east for an education. If woman was to be pre-eminently the educator of our youth, then she herself must become thoroughly educated. Here, right at home, had come an institution of college rank into the secluded groves of Evanston, where young ladies could have a pure moral atmosphere as well as literary advantages.

With considerable pride the editors of these Chicago papers pointed to some of the essays the students had already delivered at the college. Among the diversified subjects, suggesting breadth in education and the release of suppressed feminine thought, were included:



NORTHWESTERN FEMALE COLLEGE

A view taken from Sherman Avenue. Over the cupola appears the spire of the First Baptist Church.

"Woman's Rights," "Politics versus Preachers," "The Language of Silence," "The Power of Sympathy," "Man's Rights," "The Influence of the Home," "Mission of Mind," "The Mother's Prayer," "Worth of Modesty," and "The Voyage of Life."

An early issue of the *Chicago Daily Press and Tribune*, on July 15, 1858, which combined the proprietorship of Scripps, Bross and Spears of the *Chicago Democratic Press* and Ray, Medill and Cowles of the *Chicago Tribune*, announced that, at the commencement exercises of the Northwestern Female College, Miss Frances Willard of Janesville, Wisconsin, read an original poem entitled "The Human Heart," and also delivered an essay on "The Would-Be Aristocracy." Subjects chosen by Evanston girls on this occasion were: "Speak Gently," by Hannah Ludlam, "Self-Government" by Martha Steward and "What are the Wild Waves Saying?" by Mary H. Bannister. Professor William P. Jones's long poem, "The Legend of Starved Rock," the theme of which was the last stand of the Illinois Indians near Ottawa, which he delivered in many places to raise money for his college, was widely publicized.

III.

The Northwestern Female College had had plenty of discouragement and financial difficulty during its first two or three years, but was rewarded by considerable prosperity for the balance of its total existence of sixteen years. Its relations with the university became friendly, it attracted students from many states of the Union, and a number of its alumnae became prominent women. Co-education was gaining in popularity, and Northwestern University, as had been the case at the University of Michigan, was being urged to open a women's depart-

ment of university grade, available to women at the same tuition as men. William P. Jones, Jr., had become celebrated as a pioneer in the Middle West and the Jones brothers had won their victory for the higher education of women in this part of the country. While still prosperous their college had accomplished as much as any unendowed women's college could.

The Educational Association which was composed of many influential Evanston women, of which Mrs. A. H. Hoge was president during a part of its early years, had raised a fund for the establishment of the Evanston College for Ladies on a university level, a proposal which was endorsed by President Jones of the college and President Haven of the university. The Jones brothers then gave their school with its sixteen years of notable success, its considerable facilities, and its alumnae, to the newly formed Evanston College for Ladies which was to become the women's department of Northwestern University.

In June, 1871, the *Chicago Republican*, soon to become the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, described at some length the last commencement exercises of the Northwestern Female College. At the conclusion of the ceremonies the formal absorption into the Evanston College for Ladies took place with Professor Jones and the trustees of both institutions seated on the platform of the First Methodist Church. In addition to the orchestra, the musical program for the occasion included vocal numbers participated in by such Evanston singers of the day as Mrs. A. F. Nightingale, Miss Eva Mattison, Messrs. James H. Raymond, O. H. Merwin, C. G. Ayars and George Lott. On the program was a Latin oration delivered by Miss Amelia J. Conwell, which attracted much favorable

comment. The valedictorian, Miss Josephine C. Gibbs, whose theme concerned the old institution's contribution to education, turning to Professor Jones, said:

We thank you and all women everywhere should thank you for the manner in which you have exalted female education above the oldtime standard, now so justly ridiculed as boarding school training. The wisdom of your choice is acknowledged far and near and your alumnae have been called to fill responsible positions in all parts of the union.

The charter of the Northwestern Female College was then tendered to Mrs. Mary F. Haskins, President of the Board of Trustees of the Evanston College for Ladies, who accepted it with mingled feelings of thankfulness, responsibility and accountability. She assured the old trustees that the new institution was not begotten of ill-will or enmity to her elder sister but rather sprang from a desire to give greater opportunities to young women. These opportunities were now possible through the generosity of the trustees and faculty of Northwestern University in throwing open its doors to women.

Resolutions were passed commending Professor Jones and his faculty for their notable pioneer work against many obstacles. Sketches of the lives and accomplishments of alumnae were read by Miss Alice Comstock, who, at this writing, still lives in Evanston at the age of ninety-six. The wife of William P. Jones, referred to in that day as "Mrs. President Jones," was presented with a ring by the alumnae. The exercises were closed by the new president of the Evanston College for Ladies, Miss Frances E. Willard, who joined hands with the oldest and most recent graduates of the Northwestern Female College in token of the duty of constituting them alumnae of the new Evanston College for Ladies.

At the last commencement of the Northwestern Female College a valedictory, at the same time sportsmanlike and pathetic and also suggestive of financial management of an outstanding type, was given by Professor William P. Jones. He declared:

In the order of seemingly well-directed events, on this sixteenth anniversary of the establishment of the Northwestern Female College, its trustees and founders transfer the institution to the control of the trustees of the Evanston College for Ladies. As a natural result of the rapid growth of educational zeal and enterprise in the Northwest, and the influence of the good name of Evanston as an educational focus, together with the public appreciation of the honorable part the Northwestern Female College has taken in these matters, we have reached that epoch in our history where the attendance of students, the demand for more extended accommodations for our several departments, and other considerations, render it evident that larger buildings and increased means of instruction must be provided in order to keep pace with our own prosperity. This conviction operating upon the minds of others, long eager to aid in the cause of women's education, drew them some months ago, into an organization for the purpose of establishing an institution as a Female Department of the Northwestern University. With ample chartered powers joined with the invaluable privileges accorded them by the university, it only remained for them to effect an honorable union with the Northwestern Female College, already in their midst, to harmonize all the elements of success. To attain this end, they would cordially agree to *perpetuate the history of the Northwestern Female College and always recognize and cherish its Alumnae as THEIR senior Alumnae* and obligate themselves to keep the college unbroken and in regular operation in the present building until their new and larger buildings were completed. Forced, even by our prosperity, either to build on broader foundations or to accept these friendly overtures, the trustees and founder of the Northwestern Female College have chosen the path of union and, according to written terms of agreement, now transfer all that constitutes this institution, its charter, zeal, archives and good-will—without charge—to the Evanston College for Ladies.

At this moment it affords us peculiar satisfaction to reflect that during these sixteen years, the college has not only been *twice* built and wholly sustained without public aid, excepting \$1,300 in loan



ARCHITECT'S DRAWING FOR THE EVANSTON COLLEGE
FOR LADIES

The spire was never built. The building, now called Willard Hall,
houses the School of Music of Northwestern University.



subscriptions (since repaid), but has allowed over \$4,300 in discounts to 31 daughters of ministers and 79 needy students, besides permitting 26 students to pay either all or most of their expenses by teaching or helping in the domestic department, and has assisted 27 students with loans amounting to nearly \$1,000.

Now, wishing our successors abundant prosperity, and commending their noble plans to the friends of the Northwestern Female College and to the favor of all who have a heart to contribute of their treasure for the upbuilding of temples of learning, we turn from these halls with hearts overflowing with tender recollections of teachers and students with whom we have toiled these many years and, full of gratitude to the friendly public and patrons who have so long and well sustained us, and to Almighty God, who has brought us through so many sore trials as well as triumphs to this honorable issue of our undertaking, we bid the public farewell!

In behalf of the Trustees,

[Signed] W. P. JONES

*Founder and President of the
Northwestern Female College*

The old Female College building was used until the new building of the Evanston College for Ladies was completed. In later years this new structure was known as Willard Hall. In conclusion, it may be of interest to quote an editorial from Volume I, issue number 2, of the *Evanston Index* of June 15, 1872:

As is well known, the Trustees of our Ladies' College were actively at work on their new building in the park near the University, when the Chicago fire came. About \$12,000 had been expended, but the uncertainty and confusion, as well as the advance in building expenses, caused by the great calamity, demanded that all work should stop until that confusion cleared up, and we should know more certainly what would be the outcome. Now, however, the time has come to act, and our citizen, Mr. Stephen P. Lunt has made a proposition to the Trustees, which we hope to see seconded in such a way that the college building may be carried forward at once to completion. He agrees, on certain conditions, to give the College one half of the profits on the sale of fifty acres of land adjoining Rogers Park, which is to be sub-divided and sold off in town lots. If the conditions, which all seem very reasonable, can be

met, (one of them being that a considerable amount of new subscriptions shall be obtained, and another that the matter shall be pushed vigorously at once, so that the building shall be completed inside of one year) this generous proposition may be made the means of adding in all over fifty thousand dollars to the assets of the new College. While the great fire has badly crippled some of our citizens and friends in Chicago, who would have been only too glad to respond to this call, it has added largely to the pockets of others. These, and many others who have not been affected by it, either way, should step forward promptly now, and make this work a success. We trust it may be so. For full particulars, see a circular issued by the Trustees, and signed by their new president, Mrs. L. L. Greenleaf, and by Dr. Haven of the University.

Thus concludes the story of a forgotten institution which was the birthplace of coeducation of university rank in Evanston, Illinois.

DID ABRAHAM LINCOLN RECEIVE THE ILLINOIS GERMAN VOTE?

BY JAY MONAGHAN

IN a recent article in the *American Historical Review*¹ the late Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, analyzed the presidential vote of 1860 and came to the conclusion that the Wisconsin Germans were not an important factor in the election of Abraham Lincoln. Indeed, most of them seem to have voted against the Emancipator, due, Dr. Schafer believed, to the violent anti-foreign, anti-Catholic principles of the American or Know-Nothing Party which the Republicans had allegedly absorbed. Dr. Schafer assumed further that the German vote was of small importance in Illinois as well as in other states, and intimated that the time had come to rewrite the history of the election which precipitated our Civil War.

Historians may have erred in their interpretation of the election of 1860. If they have, they were led astray by the voluminous contemporary documents which relate the enthusiasm of German liberals for Abraham Lincoln, by the active part taken by prominent German speakers and writers like Carl Schurz, Gustave Koerner, George Schneider,² editor of the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, and by the numerous resolutions passed by Turnvereins

¹ Vol. XLVII, No. 1 (Oct., 1941), 51-63.

² Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago* (New York, 1940), II: 233.

and the military displays indulged in by these gymnastic societies. This activity may have been only the noisy demonstration of a small minority, but certainly the contemporary newspapers are filled with notices which give the impression that the Germans were vitally interested in the election. Democratic vituperation against the "lop-eared Dutch" has helped strengthen the assumption that German sympathies were Republican.

In 1860 the German-born residents of the northern states amounted to 5.74 % of the population³—a small percentage but sufficient to be a deciding factor in doubtful elections. Republican politicians saw to it that their newspapers constantly wrote "leaders" to flatter the Germans, who were presumed to be a liberty-loving people escaped from the tyranny of European monarchies. This impression was cultivated in the minds of contemporary Republican politicians—as well as later historians—by the German-American press. When the execution of John Brown was announced with mourning borders by *Der Demokrat*⁴ in Davenport, Iowa, it is easy to understand how party managers might have inferred that the German population was inclined toward abolitionism. So too, when the German-American politicians convened in Chicago immediately before the national Republican convention it is not surprising that the Republicans adopted the Germans' resolutions as planks of the Republican Party.⁵ The German vote was considered of such great importance that the party distributed thousands of political pamphlets printed in German type, the most notable being the Republican

³ Joseph C. G. Kennedy, comp., *Population of the U. S. in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, 1864), 103, 104.

⁴ F. I. Herriott, "The Conference in the Deutsches Haus, Chicago, May 14-15, 1860," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1928, 101-91.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 108.

tract, *Die Heimstätte-Bill*—"Land für die Landlosen," which quoted the political pronouncements of Lincoln and Douglas. At the same time campaign managers translated and distributed addresses by G. A. Grow, John Hickman, James Harlan, Owen Lovejoy, and William H. Seward, to mention only a few. If all these men erred in judgment, Dr. Schafer's thesis is an arresting commentary on the perspicacity of many national leaders on the eve of the Civil War.

A re-evaluation of the importance of the German vote in 1860 will also entail a reappraisal of the political vision of Abraham Lincoln who, both before and after the election, considered the Germans an important part of his constituency. For campaign purposes, Lincoln secretly purchased the *Illinois Staats Anzeiger*,⁶ Springfield's German newspaper, and shortly after the election rewarded the editor with a consular post. Lincoln's German appointments were characteristic of his administration. In the army Carl Schurz and Franz Sigel were commissioned major generals. German brigadiers were legion.⁷ The State Department relied on Francis Lieber, author of numerous Republican tracts, for interpretations of involved questions of international law. In the diplomatic field, when Secretary Seward attempted to fill his ministerial posts with American politicians, Lincoln asked, "What about our German friends?"⁸ Was Lincoln, like his colleagues, basing his appreciation of the German vote on a false assumption?

When Lincoln made up his mind about the importance of the German vote, records were available that

⁶ Paul M. Angle, *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln* (Boston, 1930), 204-205.

⁷ Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (Boston, 1909), I: 522-72.

⁸ Letter of March 18, 1861. John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Gettysburg ed., New York, 1905), VI: 223-24.

have since disappeared. In neighboring states he probably took the word of committee chairmen who may have deceived him, but in Illinois he knew the poll book. The state had a population of 1,711,951, of whom 324,643 were listed as foreign-born. Of these the census shows that 130,804 were German.⁹ This is roughly 8% of the population of the state, and Lincoln won by a plurality of only 3%. It is interesting to note that the number of Illinois residents born in slave states was 179,426, or slightly more than the German-born residents. If the two groups voted in blocs each might have neutralized the other. The only foreigners who approached the Germans in number were the 87,573 Irish immigrants, generally conceded to have been Democrats. As Lincoln studied the state vote another thing must have been evident to him. Two counties, Cook and St. Clair, led all the rest in the number of foreign residents, and both these counties returned Republican majorities. Such evidence must have made Lincoln susceptible to the arguments of German politicians who claimed that their nationals had voted en masse, thus assuring his election. Cook County, in the North, might have been expected to contain a native-born population with Republican principles. However, 50% of the residents were foreign-born, half of them German, and Lincoln polled 58% of the votes. Obviously his majority contained more than the native-born vote.

St. Clair County presents a less complicated problem. Unlike Cook, it had a foreign population almost exclusively German. Bordering on a slave state, it also had intimate steamboat connections with the deep South, and its native population was assumed to be anti-Lincoln.

⁹ Kennedy, comp., *Population in 1860*, 103, 104.

St. Clair County had a population of 37,694 with 43% foreign-born, but this number does not adequately represent the German vote as it does not include the adult descendants of early German settlers, some of whom had been in the region over forty years.¹⁰ A better indication of the total German population can be obtained from another source. In 1855 the state conducted a census by counties.¹¹ Although the nativity of the residents was not recorded, an actual count of the St. Clair County roster shows that 55% of the population had German names. Is it a coincidence or is it significant that the vote for Lincoln in this county amounted to 54.84%?

Two objections may be raised to any conclusion drawn from these figures. In the first place, personal names may seem to be uncertain criteria of nationality. In the second place, what proof is there that the Lincoln vote was not made up of 45% native American votes and only 9.84% German? The first objection is not serious. There can be little question about the national derivation of Schoff, Buchholtz, Snider, Schmidt, Hartman, Eckert, Scott, Cox, McCoy, McDonald and Jones. The names of early French settlers, J. Cartoe, G. Baptiste, C. Thucoits, J. Marchal, L. Chartrand and L. Lamieux are also easily distinguished. Some few like Miller, Fisher, Jacobs, Buck, Baker, and Wagoner are questionable, but such names do not constitute 2% of the whole. This objection, then, is not material. But how about the second one? Is there any way to prove that the Lincoln majorities were German votes? Yes,

¹⁰ Ferdinand Ernst, "Travels in Illinois in 1819," *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, 1903, 150-65. See also John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America* (New York, 1940), 125.

¹¹ State census, 1855 (MS, Archives Division, Ill. State Library, Springfield).

by at least two lines of reasoning. The Democratic faction is known to have been sympathetic towards the South. The county became a recruiting ground for Confederate irregulars, and at the same time, in adjacent Missouri, men were flogged and occasionally hanged for no other offense than the possession of a German name. This inference should be sufficient, but let us try a second test. The vote and census were both taken by precincts, and a comparison of the figures broken down into these divisions may serve as another clue. The oldest precinct was Cahokia, center of the early French settlement. This precinct had the smallest German population and it cast the largest anti-Lincoln vote. Fayetteville, with a population of 66% non-Germans, also cast a majority for Douglas. Athens precinct, with a population of 54% Germans, gave Lincoln a vote of 53%. Centerville, with a population of 61% Germans, gave Lincoln a vote of 64%. So in precinct after precinct a preponderance of Germans is always associated with a Lincoln majority.¹² Once more the figures indicate the soundness of contemporary politicians' judgment.

This analysis of the vote in St. Clair County, Illinois, shows a condition exactly the reverse of the one found by Dr. Schafer in Wisconsin. Nevertheless, the precision with which the ratio holds in case after case indicates its validity. One qualifying factor, however, must not be ignored—and the Wisconsin study, it seems, did not take this into consideration. St. Clair County had approximately 10,000 potential voters and only 6,866 votes were cast.¹³ In other words almost a third of the electorate did not appear at the polls—a margin suffi-

¹² *Belleviller Zeitung*, Nov. 8, 1860.

¹³ 1860 Election Returns by Counties (MS, Archives Division, Ill. State Library, Springfield).

cient to invalidate any of our conclusions. In Lincoln's day one more test was possible that cannot be repeated today. Then the names in the poll books could be checked against the vote. These records have disappeared, so the most that can be said is that every test available has confirmed the opinions of both the Illinois politicians and the contemporary press. There is no warrant for a serious revision of the accepted interpretation of the importance of the Illinois German vote in the election of 1860.

It is not difficult to explain the difference between the voting habits of the Germans in Illinois and those studied by Dr. Schafer. The Wisconsin Germans seem to have lived in small, rural communities with little admixture of other nationals. The Illinois Germans lived in or near large urban centers where they were constantly in contact with people of diverse convictions. Many Chicago Germans were organized into strong labor unions, socialistic in philosophy, pink in shade. Their life had little in common with the parochial prairie communities and it is unwise to assume that their voting habits were the same. The St. Clair Germans conform to a third pattern. Led by men of culture and intellect like Gustave Koerner and Friedrich Hecker, their political principles might be expected to differ from Germans with narrower backgrounds. "Latin farmers," they were called by their catfish American neighbors. Urbanization and liberal education may account for the German vote in Illinois. It will be interesting to see dissections of the vote in other states. Perhaps Dr. Schafer's thesis may yet be upheld, but if not, he deserves high tribute for his provocative investigation. As the French would say, "*mais c'est une idée.*"

THE UNIQUE CAREER OF AN ILLINOIS MUSICIAN

BY LORENE MARTIN

FOR half a century "Mr. Bagby's Musical Mornings" at the Waldorf-Astoria have been an institution in the fashionable and musical worlds of New York City. Eleven o'clock on each of eight Monday mornings during the social season has seen the ballroom of the famous hotel filled with a brilliant assembly, gathered to hear one or more of the world's greatest musical artists. Here, through the years, have been presented: Melba, Eames, Sembrich, Edyth Walker, Schumann-Heink, Homer, Farrar, Caruso, Kreisler, Zimbalist, Rachmaninoff, Lily Pons and many, many others. Admission was to subscribers only, and even in recent years, when the attendance not infrequently reached 1,800, the atmosphere was distinctly reminiscent of the days of Mrs. William Astor, who was one of the early sponsors.

Of the man who originated the Musical Mornings so long ago, and who personally managed them until, on January 13, 1941, he saw the four hundred and twenty-eighth of them pass into memory, the world at large heard little. Naturally modest, he has been called "the most type-shy man in public life." Nor did he at any time employ a publicity man. His uncommon success may be accounted the result of an ideal fusion of his

personality, his social life, and his chosen work.

In the late 1870's, Albert Morris Bagby, a young man of marked musical talent, left his home in Rushville, Illinois, and went to Germany to study with the masters. Oskar Raif and Franz Xaver Scharwenka were his teachers, and then he became a pupil of the greatest of them all—Franz Liszt. In the old town of Weimar, with its memories of Goethe and Schiller, where the now white-haired Hungarian virtuoso pianist—the “Master,” as he was known to all the townsfolk and to his coterie of carefully selected pupils—had settled down to an ideal life of teaching and composing, the young American passed several years. Taking his place in the tri-weekly classes of celebrities in the making, held in Liszt's home, he became also an intimate of the household, often playing whist with the Master, and coming thoroughly under the spell of his magnetic personality. That he was a favorite with the Master is evidenced, not by any word of Bagby's, but by such circumstances as that Liszt's housekeeper and cook, his faithful servant for many years, upon her death a few years ago left to Bagby her most treasured keepsakes of the Master, among them the picture that long hung over his bed in the old house in Weimar. Undoubtedly it was these Weimar years that led to Bagby's highly individual career.

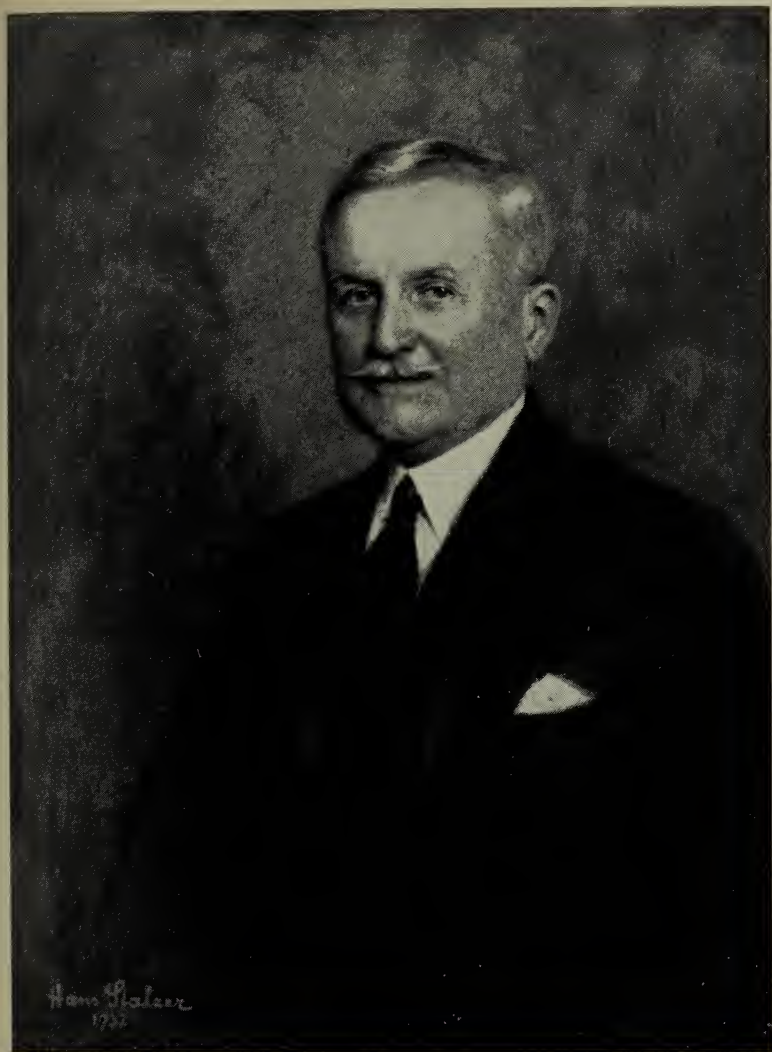
At all events, soon after his return to this country, he wrote a most engaging article for the *Century Magazine*—an article fairly exuding the atmosphere of sleepy little Weimar, nestled among the Thuringian hills, of the musical life that centered about Liszt there, of the Master's ways and the gatherings of the *Listianer*; and the charm of the article, together with the fact that it

appeared in the issue for September, 1886, almost simultaneously with the announcement of Liszt's death, led rather directly to the founding of the Musical Mornings.

Soon Julia Ward Howe, author of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," asked Bagby to present a paper on Liszt before the Newport Town and Country Club, of which she was then president. At the conclusion of the reading, he was approached by Mrs. Howe's daughter, Maud Howe Elliott, who suggested that he arrange the paper into lecture material. This he did, and in 1891, in his studio in West Fifty-seventh Street, New York City, before about twenty-five guests, and with Arthur Friedheim, another pupil of Liszt, assisting at the piano, Albert Morris Bagby gave his first morning musicale.

Other lecture-musicales followed, and although a successful pianist in his own right, Bagby made his decision to abandon professional playing and devote himself to this activity. The suggestion that he organize subscription programs and call them Musical Mornings, came from Louise McAllister, daughter of Ward McAllister. By the third winter larger quarters were required, and Bagby took the musicales to the Prince of Wales suite in the old Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on Fifth Avenue. This suite was in turn outgrown, and in 1894, by which time he was shortening his lectures and introducing such celebrities from the Metropolitan as Melba, Eames, Nordica, the two De Reszkes, and Plancon, he moved to the hotel's ballroom. In late years the vast and beautiful ballroom of the new Waldorf-Astoria on Park Avenue, at which he also resided, was none too large for these brilliant affairs.

Each program he followed with a luncheon for many guests, usually with royalty or nobility present. It was



ALBERT MORRIS BAGBY

From a portrait by Hans Stalzer, painted in 1932.



not alone his European background that enabled him to form these connections, although in addition to his early years of study there, he spent most of his summers in Europe; he made, during his lifetime, at least a hundred crossings. Bagby was himself wellborn, with English ancestors who settled in Virginia as early as 1628. His parents were members of two of Rushville's oldest families. His father, John Courts Bagby, began the practice of law in Rushville in 1846, serving as circuit judge in Schuyler County, and as a member of Congress. His mother, Mary Agnes Scripps Bagby, of the newspaper family, was a sister of John Locke Scripps, the early biographer of Abraham Lincoln, one-time head of Chicago's postal system and editor of the *Chicago Tribune*.

Moreover, Albert Morris Bagby had all his life an extraordinary gift for making friends. A genuine interest in everyone he met, kindness, keen intelligence, his own splendid accomplishments, and a highbred dignity of manner, made him persona grata wherever he chose to go. There was, too, a distinctive touch in everything he did, such as his custom of escorting to the platform each of the women artists who appeared on his programs. With the Princess Wittgenstein he had an almost lifelong friendship, having known her from Weimar days. The late Queen Marie of Rumania was also one of his friends, and he knew well certain members of England's reigning family, Queen Elizabeth of Belgium, and Carl and Zita of Hungary. Persons highly placed in arts and letters, in the professions, in the social world and in circles of great wealth—there seemed hardly one whom he did not know more or less intimately.

Meanwhile, Bagby never forgot his home town nor the friends of his boyhood. Sixty years after he left

Rushville he was still making his annual visit there, where he took an interest even in the children whom he met on the street; and in his frequent telephone conversations from New York with his niece and nearest relative, Miss Katharine McA. Bagby, in Rushville, he invariably inquired after those whom he knew. The quaint old Bagby homestead on West Lafayette Street, shaded by great elms, he maintained the year round, keeping it filled with exquisite things that he acquired in his cosmopolitan life—silver that had belonged to the Duke of Wellington, a cup that had been Lord Byron's, fine pictures, each with a history, on every wall.

The Rushville Public Library he made a repository for many treasures—hundreds of fine books, valuable autographs, a page of original Liszt manuscript music, a map case carried by Napoleon on his Russian campaign; on the wall a framed copy of the *London Times* for June 22, 1815, telling of the Battle of Waterloo; and a faded engraving—a scene from Wagner's "Valkyrie," inscribed to Bagby by the composer's widow, Cosima Liszt Wagner. Hermon A. MacNeil's bust of Abraham Lincoln is another of his gifts to the library; and the walls of the club house in Scripps Park he has hung with beautiful paintings.

But the loveliest of all his gifts to Rushville—gifts made, in every case, with complete absence of ostentation—is undoubtedly the statue, by George Gray Barnard, "Let There Be Light." A heroic figure, in purest white marble, of a woman with upreaching arms, it has been placed opposite the entrance to the park, in memory of Bagby's father and mother. The statue is one of the only two existing replicas of this appealing work, the other having been erected in Madison, Indiana, in

memory of Barnard's own mother. The Rushville statue stands clear of an effective planting of shrubbery, with impressive serenity and poise and peace against the blue of the sky.

Many honors were bestowed on Albert Morris Bagby himself, including the degree of Master of Arts, which was conferred upon him by New York University in 1925, in recognition of his contribution to the cause of music in New York City; and because he had rarely missed an annual Wagnerian Music Festival in Bayreuth, Bavaria, in fifty years, the city of Bayreuth made him an honorary citizen. Two of his books are found in many libraries over the land—*Mammy Rosie*, the story of an old negro servant, through whose culinary skill, in his early days in New York, he became a famous host; and *Miss Traumerei—A Weimar Idyl*, an example of exquisite writing.

Edmund Munger, concert pianist, of Xenia, Ohio, who made many appearances in New York City during the early 1900's, and saw much of Bagby, in a recent letter offered this tribute to him:

What a career he had! His life was so vividly interesting, connected as he was with two widely different spheres of Manhattan society—the greatest musical stars and the wealthiest patrons of music. I well remember the first lunch we had together, at the Three Arts Club, at a small table in one corner of the room where the walls were largely covered with works of the painting or drawing or etching members; and I can still see him sitting opposite me, his bright brown eyes always alert and direct, making me feel as if I were his chief interest in life!

He had many interesting tales to tell me, as he had you, and a keen sense of humor; but Mr. Bagby, as you know, was not one to talk much of himself and his accomplishments. I can well imagine how interesting you found his home in Rushville, for he was above all things artistic, with one of the finest minds I have ever come across.

In 1925 Bagby established the Bagby Music Lovers' Foundation, an incorporated organization by which an endowment is provided for the aid of distinguished musicians facing need in their declining years. In the past sixteen years Minnie Hauk, Cosima Wagner, Antonio Scotti and various others have been aided, although the identity of no beneficiary of the Foundation has ever been divulged so long as he or she lived. This philanthropy was especially near to Bagby's heart, as he considered it some measure of return for the contribution made by the musicians to his own half century of success.

To commemorate the completion of this half century, a golden anniversary dinner in Bagby's honor was planned, with Mrs. James Roosevelt, mother of the President, Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt, Mrs. August Belmont and Mrs. Huntington Astor composing the committee in charge. But death intervened. On February 26, 1941, although he was seemingly untouched by the years, with mind sparkling clear, and with the same zest for living at eighty-one that he had shown all his days, Albert Morris Bagby succumbed to a brief illness. One of the last remaining links of this generation with the immortal Liszt was severed; and the unusual and extremely interesting career of a native son of Illinois came to a close.

On December 15, 1941, a memorial concert, for the benefit of the Music Lovers' Foundation, with Jarmila Novotna, Erika Morini, Richard Bonelli, Emanuel List, Emanuel Feuermann, and Jan Smeterlin appearing, took the place of the anniversary dinner; and early in May, 1942, the Museum of the City of New York opened a memorial exhibit—a remarkable collection of photo-

graphs and programs relating to the Musical Mornings, which will preserve graphic record of this long series of concerts which has now become a gracious tradition.

AUDUBON'S 'JOURNEY UP THE MISSISSIPPI' *

EDITED BY JOHN FRANCIS MC DERMOTT

JOHN James Audubon was one of the most interesting and most annoying of American travel writers in the nineteenth century. He was more widely acquainted with the American scene than most men in his time but in his published works he often skillfully concealed his experiences. Like many another nineteenth century man who fancied himself as a literary person, he chose to present fact as fiction and equally often depicted fiction as fact. Happily for those interested in the actual scene, a number of Audubon's day by day journals have been preserved and published. But though we are rich in Audubon diaries and letters there are stretches of his life that he retailed for us only in a fanciful manner. Particularly is this true of the "Episodes" which he scattered through the *Ornithological Biography* to give variety and add interest to that work. Those sketches were all founded on some experience in the life of the author but the narratives are so altered that they are no longer reliable as biographical detail. Every piece, therefore, of the writing of Audubon that can be authenticated biographically is of particular interest to the Americanist.

* From *The Winter's Wreath for MDCCCXXIX* (London and Liverpool, 1828), 104-27. I am indebted to Professor Bradford A. Booth, University of California at Los Angeles, for telling me where I could find a copy of this annual and to the Harvard College Library for the use of it.

The account reproduced here is apparently the most satisfactory version of Audubon's first visit to the Mississippi River. It is based, according to Lucy Audubon's *Life of Audubon* (which is really Robert Buchanan's version of a compilation made by a friend of Mrs. Audubon's), on an actual journal kept by the naturalist during the trip. No such journal is known to exist and there may be some doubt—from internal evidence noted below—that a real diary ever did exist. The oldest account of the 1810 trip is that published in the *Winter's Wreath* in 1829, as given below. Other versions appear in the Buchanan and Lucy Audubon lives and in Firmin Rozier's *History*; these are more fanciful and less complete than the one version published by Audubon himself. Still another—and very much briefer account—is that in the autobiographical sketch Audubon wrote for his children (at an unknown date late in his life), which was published by his granddaughter in 1893. By all odds then the 1829 version is to be preferred as the fullest and most reliable report of this episode in his life. And even though some statements cannot be authenticated, it is such a detailed picture of the Mississippi country in 1810 that it is well worth reprinting from the rare volume in which it has been hidden for more than a century.¹

Out late conversation upon the subject of Christmas holidays has induced me to write, for your amusement, my dear friend, an account of a Christmas which I spent some years ago in the land that I call my own—America,—my country.

¹Original spelling and punctuation have been followed in the account which follows.

About the end of December, some eighteen years ago,² I left my family at a village near Henderson, in the lower part of Kentucky; being bound on an expedition to the upper parts of the Mississippi. I started with my friend F———³ in a vessel there termed a keel-boat;—an open boat, with a covered stern which forms the cabin, over which projects the slender trunk of some tree (about sixty feet long) as a steering oar; the boat being impelled by four oars worked in the bow, at the rate of about five miles an hour, going with the current.⁴ The banks of the Ohio were already very dreary;—indeed nothing green remained, except the hanging canes that here and there bordered its shores, and the few dingy grape leaves, which hardly invited the eye to glance towards them. We started in a heavy snow storm,—and our first night was indeed dismal; but as day began to appear, the storm ceased; and we found ourselves opposite the mouth of Cumberland River, which flows from the state of Tennessee, passing Nashville, and is a tolerably navigable stream for many hundred miles. Here the Ohio spreads to a considerable width, and forms in summer a truly magnificent river, and is even at this season broad and beautifully transparent, though so shallow that it is often fordable from the Illinois shore to Cumberland Island. Vast trees over-

² That is, 1810. He moved to Henderson, Ky., in the spring of that year and the Audubon-Herrick partnership was dissolved April 6, 1811. Francis Hobart Herrick, *Audubon the Naturalist* (2nd ed., 2 vols. in 1, New York, 1938), I: 236, 242.

³ Ferdinand Rozier, born at Nantes, France, 1777, and died at Ste. Genevieve, Mo., 1864. The most detailed account of his life and of the relations between him and Audubon is that in Herrick, *Audubon the Naturalist*, I: 146-72, 186-201, 233-46. Consult also Firmin A. Rozier, *Rozier's History of the Early Settlement of the Mississippi Valley* (St. Louis, 1890), 287-89, 301-304.

⁴ According to his widow, the load consisted of "three hundred barrels of whiskey, sundry drygoods, and powder." Lucy Bakewell Audubon, ed., *The Life of John James Audubon the Naturalist* (New York, 1869), 35. I am indebted to the Harvard College Library for the use of this volume.

hang both banks, and their immense masses of foliage are reflected in the clear mirror.

Ere long we passed the mouth of the Tennessee River and Fort Massacre,⁵ could easily perceive that the severe and sudden frost, which had just set in, had closed all the small lakes and lagoons in the neighbourhood, as thousands of wild water-fowl were flying and settling themselves on the borders of the Ohio. Suffering our boat to drift with the stream, whenever large flocks approached us, we shot a great number of them.

About the third day of our journey we entered the mouth of Cash Creek,⁶ a very small stream, but at all times a sufficient deep and good harbour. Here I met a French Count,⁷ a celebrated traveller, bound like ourselves to St. Genevieve, Upper Louisiana (now the State of Missouri). We soon learned that the Mississippi was covered by thick ice, and that it was therefore impossible to ascend it. Cash Creek⁸ is about six miles above the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi. The stream flows from some hills to the northward of its mouth, which are covered with red and black oak, sumac and locust trees; and were formerly said to contain valuable minerals, of which they have been since proved to be totally destitute.—The point of land, between the Creek and the junction of the two rivers, is all alluvial and

⁵ Fort Massiac was built by the French in 1757 and abandoned by them in 1764. It was rebuilt by the United States in 1794 and maintained as a fort for a number of years.

⁶ Cache Creek.

⁷ In Lucy B. Audubon, ed., *Life of Audubon*, 35, the text reads: "Here [Cash Creek] I met Count De Munn [*sic*], who was also in a boat like ours, and bound also for St. Genevieve [*sic*]." If it were Jules de Mun or his brother Auguste, the title of "Count" was incorrectly used, for they were sons of the Chevalier Jacques de Mun and grandsons of the Seventh Marquis de Mun. Nor is there any evidence that either of the Missouri De Muns was a "celebrated traveler." For the De Mun family consult Nettie H. Beauregard, comp., "De Mun Family in America," *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. V, No. 3 (June, 1928), 327-42.

⁸ Now the site of the flourishing town of Trinity—Audubon.

extremely rich soil, covered with heavy black walnut, ash, and pecan trees, closely tangled canes, and nettles, that are in summer at least six feet high. It is overflowed by both rivers during their freshes.

The Creek, now filled by the overplus of the Ohio, abounded with fish of various sorts, and innumerable ducks, driven by winter to the south from the Polar Regions. Though the trees were entirely stripped of their verdure, I could not help raising my eyes towards their tops, and admiring their grandeur. The large sycamores with white bark formed a lively contrast with the canes beneath them; and the thousands of parrots, that came to roost in their hollow trunks at night, were to me objects of interest and curiosity.⁹ About fifty families of Shawnee Indians had moreover chosen this spot for an encampment, to reap the benefit of a good harvest of pecan nuts; and to hunt the innumerable deer, bears, and racoons, which the same cause had congregated here. These were not the first natives, (for I cannot, like many Europeans, call them savages) that I had seen; I understand their habits and a few words of their language, and as many of them spoke French passably, I easily joined both their "talks" and their avocations.¹⁰

An apparent sympathy connects those fond of the same pursuit, with a discernment almost intuitive, whatever be their nation;—all those hunters who loved fishing and pursuits of enterprize, ere long crowded round me; and as soon as they learned my anxiety for curiosities of natural history, they discovered the most

⁹ See his account of "The Carolina Parrot" in *Ornithological Biography* (5 vols., Philadelphia and Edinburgh, 1832-1839), I: 135-39.

¹⁰ There were Shawnee settlements in southern Illinois and Missouri from the early 1790's.

gratifying anxiety to procure them for me. Even the squaws set small traps for the smaller animals;—and when, in return, I presented them with a knife, a pair of scissors, &c. they expressed their gratitude as gracefully as the most educated female would have done. My friend F——— neither hunter nor naturalist, sat in the boat all day, brooding, in gloomy silence, over the loss of time, &c. entailed by our detention. The Count kept a valuable journal, since published—hunted a great deal, and was as careless of the weather as myself; but his companion and father-in-law,¹¹ like my partner, sat in his boat, pining with chagrin and ennui:—their case, however, was hopeless; here we were, and were forced to remain, until liberated by a thaw.

On the second morning after our arrival, I heard a movement in the Indian camp, and having hastily risen and dressed myself, I discovered that a canoe containing half a dozen squaws and as many hunters, was about to leave the Illinois for the Tennessee side of the river. I learned also that their object was to proceed to a large lake opposite, to which immense flocks of swans resorted every morning. These flocks are so numerous and strong, that it is, however incredible it may at first seem, a well-known fact, that they keep the lakes which they frequent open, merely by swimming upon them night and day.—Having obtained permission to join the party, I seated myself in the canoe, well supplied with ammunition and whiskey,—in a few moments the paddles were at work, and we swiftly crossed to the opposite shore. I was not much astonished, during our

¹¹ What journal Audubon referred to—if any—I have not been able to discover. The presence of a father-in-law makes the identification of the "Count" still more difficult. Jules de Mun was not married until March 31, 1812; no trace can be found of any marriage for Auguste, the other son who came to Missouri.

passage, to see all the labour of paddling performed by the squaws; for this feature of Indian manners was not new to me; but I was surprized to see that upon entering the canoe, the hunters laid down, and positively slept during the whole passage. On landing, the squaws, after securing the boat, proceeded to search for nuts, whilst the *gentlemen* hunters made the best of their way, through the "*thick and thin*," to the lake.

Those who have never seen anything of what I call "*thick and thin*," may perhaps think I allude to something like the furze which covers some of the moors of Scotland,—but they must imagine the shores of the Ohio, at its junction with the great muddy river called the Mississippi, to be fairly overgrown with a kind of thick-set cotton trees, that rise as closely from the muddy soil of the bank as can well be conceived—they are not to be beaten down; you must slide yourself between them,—and in summer you have a pretty task to keep off the musquitos that abound amongst them. After these thickets there are small nasty lagoons, which you must either swim across, jump over, or leap into and be drowned, according to your taste or capability;—but when the task of reaching the lake *is* accomplished—what a feast for a sportsman! There they lie, by hundreds, of a white or rich cream colour—either dipping their black bills in the water; or leaning backwards, and gently resting with one leg expanded, floating along and basking in the sunshine. The moment that these beautiful birds saw our videttes, they started up in immediate apprehension:—but the plan of our Indians drove the poor swans the nearer to their fate, the farther they retreated from either shore. Men were placed behind the trees, who knew how to take a dead

aim, and every shot told. Being divided, three on one side and four on the other,—the former hid themselves; and when the birds flew from the latter, they alighted within good distance of those who had first alarmed them. What would those English *sportsmen*—who, after walking a whole day, and exploding a pound of powder, march home in great glee, holding a partridge by the legs, with a smile on their lips and a very empty stomach,—say to this day's devastation amongst the swans? I saw these beautiful birds floating on the water, their backs downwards, their heads under the surface, and their legs in the air, struggling in the last agonies of life, to the number of at least fifty—their beautiful skins all intended for the ladies of Europe.¹²

The sport was now over;—the sun was nearly even with the tops of the trees—a conch was sounded, and after a while the squaws appeared, dragging the canoe, and moving about in quest of the dead game. It was at last all transported to the river's edge, and we were landed upon the Illinois bank again before dark. The fires were lighted—each man ate his mess of pecan nuts and bear's fat, and then stretched himself out, with feet close to the small heap of coal intended for the night. The females then began their work;—it was their duty to skin the birds. I observed them for some time, and then retired to rest, very well satisfied with the sports of this day—the 25th of December.

On the following morning I found that a squaw had given birth to beautiful twins during the night—she was at work, tanning deerskins. She had cut two vines at the roots of opposite trees, which, having their upper branches twined in the tops of the trees, made a kind of

¹² Cf. "The Trumpeter Swan," *Ornithological Biography*, IV: 536-42.

swing; and framed a cradle of bark, in which the infants were swung to and fro by a gentle push of her hand,—from time to time, she gave them the breast, and to all appearance seemed as unconcerned as if nothing had taken place. What a difference between this Indian mother and a lady of fashion!

An Indian camp upon a hunting expedition is not, I assure you, a place of idleness;—and although the men do little more than hunt, they pursue this task with a degree of eagerness bordering upon enthusiasm. One of their party, a tall and robust man, assured us one morning that he would have some good sport that day, as he had found the *gîte* [den] of a bear of some size, and wished to combat him singly;—we all started with him, to see him fulfill his bold promise. When we had gone about half a mile from the camp, he said he discerned the bear's track, although I could positively perceive nothing; and he went on, rambling through the thick cane brake, until we reached a large decaying log of timber, of an immense size:—in this he said that the bear was concealed. I have rarely seen a finer object than this Indian, at the moment when he prepared to encounter his prey. His eyes sparkled with joy—the rusty blanket was thrown in an instant from his shoulders—his brawny arms seemed swelling with the blood that rushed through their prominent veins, and he drew his scalping knife with a fantastic gesture that plainly declared *la guerre à l'outrance*. He ordered me to mount a delicate sapling, which would, he said, be secure from the bear, who could easily ascend a larger tree with the activity of a squirrel;—whilst the other two Indians stood at the entrance of the hollow log, which the hero entered with the most resolute determination. All was

still for some minutes;—he then emerged, and said the bear was slain, and that I could safely descend. His companions entered the log, and having tied the animal to a long vine, which they had cut, our united strength drew him out. This exploit was in fact less dangerous than it appeared, for the bear, when attacked in a confined spot like the trunk of a hollow tree, makes no resistance, but retires further and further back, until he is killed. As we returned to the camp, one of our Indians broke the twigs in our way from time to time, and on our reaching the camp, two squaws were sent on the track of the broken twigs, who returned at night with the flesh and skin of the animal.

The nuts were soon nearly all gathered; and I began to perceive that the game must be getting scarce, as the hunters remained in the camp, during the greater part of the day. At last, one morning, they packed up their moveables, destroyed their abodes, and put off in their canoes down the Mississippi for the little Prairie,¹³ bent on moving towards the Arkansas. Their example made us desirous of moving; and I set off with two of the crew to cross the bend of the river, and ascertain if the ice still remained too solid to allow us to proceed. The weather was milder: and on reaching the Mississippi, I found the ice so much sunk as to be scarcely discernible above the water; and I toiled along the muddy shore,—my fellows keeping about fifty yards behind me, until I reached Cape Girardeau.¹⁴ After calling for some time loudly for a boat, we saw a canoe put off from the opposite shore. When it reached us, a stout dark coloured man leaped

¹³ The region known as the Little Prairie was below New Madrid in the extreme southern portion of Missouri; a settlement of that name was founded in the 1790's about thirty miles south of New Madrid.

¹⁴ Audubon must have traveled more than thirty miles overland between Cache Creek and Cape Girardeau.

on shore, who said his name was Lorimie, the son of the Spanish Governor of Louisiana.¹⁵ Being a good pilot, he undertook with six stout men of his own, in addition to our four hands, to bring our boat up, and the bargain was soon arranged. His canoe was hauled into the woods, some blaze¹⁶ was made on the surrounding trees; and he then took us by a direct route through the woods back to Cash Creek, in about one third of the time I had occupied in coming, and ten times more comfortably. The night was spent in preparations; in making towing ropes of bullocks hides, and cutting good oars; and at daylight we left Cash Creek, to embark on wider waters.

Going down the stream, to the mouth of the Ohio, was fine sport, and my friend F——— thought himself near the end of the journey;—but alas!—when we turned the point, and began to ascend the Mississippi, we had to stem a current of three miles an hour, and to encounter ice which, although sunk, much impeded our progress. The patron, as the director of the boat's crew is termed, got on shore; and it became the duty of every man to *haul the Cordelle*—viz. to tow the boat by a rope fastened to a pole in the bow, leaving only one man in her to steer. This was slow and heavy work; and we only advanced seven miles, during the whole day, up the famous Mississippi. On the approach of night, our crew camped on the bank; and having made a tremendous fire, we all ate and drank like men that had worked hard, and went to sleep in a few moments. We started the next morning two hours before daybreak, and made about a mile an hour against the current; our sail lying

¹⁵ Possibly Louis Lorimier, graduate of West Point in 1806. He died at Cape Girardeau in 1831. His mother was half Shawnee, which would account for the "dark colour" Audubon recorded. For his father the commandant at Cape Girardeau (*not* "Governor of Louisiana"! see *post*, note 25.

¹⁶ Cutting the bark off to mark the spot—Audubon.

useless, as the wind was contrary. This night we camped out as before;—and another; and after that, a following day finding us at the same work, with very little progress, and the frost becoming quite severe again, our patron put us into winter quarters in the great bend of Tawapatee Bottom.¹⁷

What a place for winter quarters! Not a white man's cabin within twenty miles on the other side of the river, and on our own, none within at least fifty! A regular camp was raised—trees cut down, and a cabin erected, in less time than a native of Europe would think possible. In search for objects of natural history, I rambled through the deep forests, and soon knew all the Indian passes and lakes in the neighbourhood. The natives by some intuitive faculty, discover an encampment of this kind, almost as quickly as a flight of vultures find a dead deer; and I soon met some strolling in the woods on the look out. Their numbers gradually increased; and in about a week, several of these unfortunate rambling beings were around us. Some were Osages, but the greater part were Shawnees.¹⁸ The former were athletic, robust, well-formed men, of a nobler aspect than the others, from whom they kept apart. They hunted nothing but larger game—the few elks that remain in the country, and one or two buffaloes were all that they paid attention to. The latter were more reduced, or rather harder pressed upon by the whites; they condescended to kill opossums and even wild turkeys for

¹⁷ More commonly spelled Tywappity. The party camped on the Mississippi where it flows north between Mississippi County, Mo., and Alexander County, Ill. to make the last great bend before reaching Cairo. In the *Ornithological Biography*, IV: 538, Audubon wrote of a "fur-trading voyage" and camp on Tawapatee Bottom on the east side of the Mississippi; he was clearly referring to the 1810-1811 trip.

¹⁸ These were probably some of the Apple Creek Shawnee who had been induced to settle there by Lorimier of Cape Girardeau nearly twenty years earlier.

their subsistence. Though I was often amongst the Osages, and very anxious to observe their manners, as they were a race new to me, yet as they spoke no French and very little English, I could hardly get acquainted with them, being ignorant of their language. They were delighted to see me draw; and when I made a tolerable portrait of one of them in red chalk, the others, to my astonishment, laughed to an excess. They bore the cold better than the Shawnees, and were more expert in the use of their bows and arrows.

Our time passed away;—after hunting all day with a young Kentuckian of our party, he would join me at night to chase the wolves that were prowling on the ice—crossing the river to and fro, howling, and sneaking about the very camp for the bones which we threw away. Meanwhile I studied the habits of the wild turkies, bears, congars [cougars?], racoons, and many other animals;—and I drew, more or less every day, by the side of our great fire. I will try to give you some idea of a great fire at a camp of this sort in the woods of America. Just before evening the axe-men tumble down four or five trees—probably ash, about three feet in diameter, and sixty feet to the first branches, or as we call them, the limbs. These are again cut into logs, of about ten feet in length, and, with the assistance of strong sticks, are rolled together, into a heap several feet high. A fire is made at the top, with brush-wood and dry leaves, kindled by a flint and steel; and in the course of an hour, there is a flame that would roast you at the distance of five paces:—under the smoke of this the party go to sleep. It happened, on the only night that my friend F——— slept on shore, that being very chill, he drew himself so close to the fire, that the side

of his face, which lay uppermost, was fairly singed, and he lost one of his whiskers. We all laughed at this;—but it was no joke to him, and he shaved off the remaining whisker very ruefully the next morning.

We remained here six weeks:—we had plenty of company from our Indian friends, with whiskey and food in abundance; but our stock of bread began to give way, and we got tired of using the breasts of wild turkeys for bread, and bear oil instead of meat. The racoons and opossums, however tender, were at last disliked; and it was decided one morning that I and my Kentuckian friend¹⁹ should cross the bend, to procure some Indian corn-meal, and have it dragged down by men on skates, or otherwise. I was no novice in the woods; and my companion bound on his mocassins with great glee, and told me to come onwards,—and I followed his steps, until, meeting a herd of deer, we pursued them, tracking them with great ease through the snow. I shot one; and as we did not know what to do with it, we hung it on a tree; and, after marking the place, resumed our course. We walked on till nearly dark, but no river was seen. My friend urged me forward, and I still followed him; knowing very well that the business would end at last in supping on an opossum,—when we suddenly struck upon two tracks, which I took for those of Indians. He said that they would guide us to the river; and we followed them, until at an opening, I saw the wished-for Mississippi;—but many *shoe-tracks* were visible and I began to get alarmed. My friend still kept up his spirits, until at length we arrived at—our own encampment! The boatmen laughed, and the Indians joined in the

¹⁹ According to Lucy Audubon, this was John Pope, clerk of Audubon and Rozier (*Life of Audubon*, 42).

chorus:—we ate a racoon supper, and were soon after refreshed by sleep. This was a raw expedition; yet nothing was more natural than that it should happen to those not perfectly acquainted with the woods. They start—form a circle, and return to the point which they left at first. I cannot account for this: but the same thing has often occurred to me in my early hunting excursions. Of which the following is an instance.

One day in the winter, I had been shooting ducks upon a lake at no great distance from home. It was rather late when I discontinued my sport, and turned my steps homewards, well laden with the birds, which were suspended from a belt around my waist. Soon after I had entered the woods which I had to traverse, it began to snow; and as I was therefore desirous to reach home as soon as possible, I unburdened myself of about half of my game, laying it upon a stump of a newly-felled tree. Thus lightened, I set off at a quick pace;—the snow continuing to fall, I was no longer able to see my way; but pushed on, as I thought, in a straight line; until, after about two hours of smart walking, I arrived at a felled tree, upon the stump of which lay about a dozen dead ducks. It did not for a moment occur to me that these could be the birds of which I had divested myself two hours before; and so, thinking that they had been deposited there by some other hunter, I set forth again; wondering, however, that I was so long in reaching home, which I knew to be not more than ten miles distant from the place where I had been shooting. After walking as hard as I could for about an hour longer, to my disagreeable surprise, I came upon the ducks again! This second meeting induced me to examine them narrowly; when I discovered that they were my own game;

and that I had actually been walking all this time in a circle; although, on leaving them, I had taken different directions each time, I had returned, as it were by magic, to the self-same spot from which I had first departed! It was now night:—I saw that it would be useless to attempt reaching home before morning, and prepared myself for camping out beside my ducks. I lighted a fire, and passed the night very comfortably, sheltered by the snow, which I scooped out so as to form a very good *gite*. The following morning, I started at daylight, and in about half an hour reached my home, which was not more than three miles distant from the place where I had passed the night.

My friend and I were not to be thus defeated; we moved off, as soon as day broke, without mentioning our intentions, taking our guns and my dog, in search of the opposite side of the bend. This time, luckily, we pushed straight across;—neither the innumerable flocks of turkies nor the herds of deer stopped us, until we saw Cape Girardeau, about an hour before sunset. On reaching the river, we called in vain for a boat—the ice was running swiftly down the stream, and none dared put out. A small abandoned hut stood close to us, and we made it our home for the night; and our evening meal was principally composed of a pumpkin that had withstood the frost. With a gun and a little powder we soon kindled a fire and lighted some broken branches—we fed the flames with the boards of the abandoned house, and went to sleep very comfortably;—what a different life from the one I lead now! And yet that very evening I wrote the day's occurrences in my journal²⁰ before

²⁰ The journal mentioned is not extant; the present account is probably drawn from it. Lucy Audubon referred to the account of the stay at Cash Creek as "pic-

going to sleep—just as I do now; and I well remember, that I gained more information that evening about the roosting of the Prairie hen, than I had ever done before.

Daylight returned, fair and frosty:—the trees, covered with snow and icicles, became so brilliant when the sun rose, that the wild turkies quite dazzled, preferred walking under them to flying amongst their glittering branches. After hailing the opposite shore for some time, we perceived a canoe picking its way towards us through the floating ice;—it arrived, and we soon told the boatmen our wishes to procure some bread or flour. They returned, after having been absent nearly the whole day, bringing us a barrel of flour, several large loaves, and a bag of Indian corn-meal. The flour was rolled high on the bank; we thrust our gun-barrels through the loaves, and having hung the bag of Indian corn-meal on a tree, to preserve it from the wild hogs, we marched for our camp, which we reached about midnight. Four of our men were sent with axes, who formed a small sledge, on which they placed the precious cargo, and hauled it safely to the camp, over the snow.

The river having risen slowly and regularly, as the Mississippi always does, now began to subside; the ice, falling with the water, prepared fresh trouble for us; and in order to keep the boat afloat, it was thought prudent to unload the cargo. It took us two days, with the assistance of the Indian women, to pile our goods safely on the shore, and to protect them from the weather. For the security of the boat, we cut down some strong trees, with which we framed a kind of jetty, a little higher up the stream, to ward off the ice,

turesquely given in his journal" and as extracted in her book, but, the tenses being consistently past, the passage there must be regarded as a later account, not as quotation from the original journal (*Life of Audubon*, 36, 43).

which was rapidly accumulating. Being now fairly settled in our winter quarters, we spent our time very merrily; and so many deer, bears, and wild turkies suffered in our hunting parties, that the trees around our camp looked like butchers' stalls, being hung round with fat venison, &c. Moreover we soon found that the lakes contained abundance of excellent fish; and many of us would walk over the ice with axes, and whenever a trout, pike, or cat-fish rose immediately beneath it, a severe blow on the ice killed the fish, which the hunter secured by opening a large hole in the ice, several feet in diameter; the fish, in search of air, resorted to it from different quarters, and were shot as they appeared on the surface of the water. The squaws tanned the deer-skins, stretched those of the racoons and otters, and made baskets of canes: my friend played tolerably on the violin;²¹ I had a flute—and our music found pleased hearers, whilst our men danced to the tunes, and squaws laughed heartily at our merriment. The Indian hunters formed the outer ring of our auditory—smoking their tomahawk pipes with a degree of composure, which no white man ever displayed at such merry-makings. After we had passed six weeks in this manner, the river began to fall very much,—the ice was heaped along both shores, so that a narrow channel alone appeared clear; and at last our patron said, that this was the time to depart for Cape Girardeau.²² All was bustle—the cargo

²¹ Pope, not Rozier, according to Lucy Audubon, *Life of Audubon*, 43.

²² In Lucy Audubon, *Life of Audubon*, 43-44, appears a long paragraph describing the breaking of the ice which is not in the *Winter's Wreath* version:

"While our time went pleasantly enough, a sudden and startling catastrophe threatened us without warning. The ice began to break, and our boat was in instant danger of being cut to pieces by the ice-floes, or swamped by their pressure. Roused from our sleep, we rushed down pell-mell to the bank, as if attacked by savages, and discovered the ice was breaking up rapidly. It split with reports like those of heavy artillery; and as the water had suddenly risen from an overflow of the Ohio, the two

was once more put on board;—our camp was abandoned, and the Indians and we parted like brethren.

Our navigation was now of the most dangerous nature; the boat was propelled by pushing with long poles against the ice, or the bottom, whenever it could be touched;—and we moved extremely slowly. The ice on each side was higher than our heads;—and I frequently thought that if a sudden thaw had taken place, we should have been in a dangerous predicament indeed;—but good fortune assisted us, and at length we reached the famous Cape.²³

The little village of Cape Girardeau²⁴ contained nothing remarkable or interesting except Mr. Lorimie, the father of our patron, who was indeed an original, and the representative of a class of men now fast disappearing from the face of the earth. His protrait is so striking

streams seemed to rush against each other with violence, in consequence of which the congealed mass was broken into large fragments, some of which rose nearly erect here and there, and again fell with thundering crash, as the wounded whale, when in the agonies of death, springs up with furious force, and again plunges into the foaming waters. To our surprise, the weather, which in the evening had been calm and frosty, had become wet and blowy. The water gushed from the fissures formed in the ice, and the prospect was extremely dismal. When day dawned, a spectacle strange and fearful presented itself: the whole mass of water was violently agitated; its covering was broken into small fragments, and although not a foot of space was without ice, not a step could the most daring have ventured to make upon it. Our boat was in imminent danger, for the trees which had been placed to guard it from the ice were cut or broken into pieces, and were thrust against her. It was impossible to move her; but our pilot ordered every man to bring down great bunches of cane, which were lashed along her sides; and before these were destroyed by the ice, she was afloat, and riding above it. While we were gazing on the scene, a tremendous crash was heard, which seemed to have taken place about a mile below, when suddenly the great dam of ice gave way. The current of the Mississippi had forced its way against that of the Ohio; and in less than four hours we witnessed the complete breaking up of the ice." (Note the error—for dramatic emphasis?—here; the camp was at least ten miles above the Ohio.)

²³ The most interesting contemporary description of the country around Cape Girardeau and Ste. Genevieve is that of H. M. Brackenridge who traveled overland from New Madrid to St. Louis in the early summer of 1810; see his *Views of Louisiana* (2nd ed., Baltimore, 1817), 196-202, and *Recollections of Persons and Places in the West* (Philadelphia, 1868), 187-98.

²⁴ The paragraphs concerning Cape Girardeau and Lorimier are not in Lucy Audubon, *Life of Audubon*. According to Brackenridge, the town had at this time "about thirty dwellings and three hundred inhabitants." (*Views of Louisiana*, 232).

and well worth preserving, that I shall attempt to draw it.²⁵

Imagine a man not exceeding four feet six inches in height, and thin in proportion, looking as if he had just been shot out of a pop-gun. He had a spare, meagre countenance, in which his nose formed decidedly the most prominent feature. It was a true *nez à la Grand Frederic*—a tremendous promontory, full three inches in length—hooked like a hawk's beak, and garnished with a pair of eyes resembling those of an eagle. His hair was plastered close to his head with a quantity of pomatum; and behind he wore a long queue rolled up in a dirty ribbon, which hung down below his waist. The upper part of his dress was European, and had evidently once been made of the richest materials; and though now woefully patched and dilapidated, you might still observe here and there shreds of gold and silver lace adhering to the worn apparel. His waistcoat, of a fashion as antique as that of his nose, had immense flaps or pockets that covered more than one-half of his lower garments. These latter were of a description totally at variance with the upper part of his costume. They were of dressed buck-skin, fitting tight to his attenuated limbs, and ornamented with large iron buckles at the knees, which served to attach and support a pair of Indian hunting gaiters that had, like the rest of his dress, seen long and hard service. To complete his costume, he wore on his feet a pair of mocassins, or Indian

²⁵ Louis Lorimier was born in Canada in 1748 and, after years of trading in Ohio, settled in the Ste. Genevieve district in 1787. He founded Cape Girardeau in 1793. His first wife was Charlotte P. Bougainville, a half-blood Shawnee, who died March 23, 1808, aged 50 years, leaving four sons and two daughters. He married, secondly, Marie Berthiaume, who was also part Shawnee. He died in 1812. Consult Louis Houck, *History of Missouri* (3 vol., Chicago, 1908), II: 169-81; Houck, *Spanish Régime in Missouri* (2 vol., Chicago, 1909), II: 59-99, and *passim*; Houck, *Memorial Sketches of Pioneers and Early Residents of Southeast Missouri* (Cape Girardeau, 1915), 1-18.

shoes, that were really of most beautiful workmanship. These articles of dress, together with his small stature and singular features, rendered his appearance, at a little distance, the most ludicrous caricature that can be imagined; but upon approaching nearer, and conversing with him, his manners were found to be courteous and polished. He had been, as I before mentioned, the governor of Louisiana, while it was in the possession of the Spaniards; when this country was purchased by the Government of the United States, he retired to this little village, where he was looked upon as a great general, and held in the highest esteem and consideration by all the inhabitants.

We decided not to remain here; and our patron urging us to proceed to St. Genevieve, we moved once more between the ice, and arrived in a few days at the Grand Tower; an immense rock detached from the shore, around which the current rushes with great violence.²⁶ Our *cordelles* were used to force a passage at this dangerous spot; and our men, clinging to the rock as well as they could, looked as if each movement would plunge them into the abyss—but we passed on without accident. All this night, we heard the continual howling of the wolves, amidst the heavy woods that covered the large hills on the Illinois shore, opposite to this rock. From what I know of their habits, I am convinced that they were hunting deer in the following manner. They hunt in packs, like dogs,—but with far more sagacity and contrivance. They divide themselves into separate bodies; some to rouse the game, and others to waylay them. The pack that is on the hunt starts one or more

²⁶ "It was near this famous tower of granite that I first saw the great eagle that I have named after our good and great General Washington." (Lucy Audubon, *Life of Audubon*, 45).

deer, following them with a note, like that of hounds in full cry,—and drives the game before it towards the wolves posted in ambush. These wolves, when the deer pass, start up fresh, and following their prey, soon overtake it;—and it is well known that a cry is uttered as a signal for assembling at the death of the game, somewhat like the death-note of the hunter's bugle.

We arrived safely at St. Genevieve, and concluded the object of our adventure very satisfactorily.²⁷ St. Genevieve was then an old French town—small and dirty;²⁸ and I far preferred the time I spent in Tawapatee Bottom to my sojourn here.²⁹ Having arranged my affairs, I waited only for a thaw to return home. The ice broke at last; and bidding my companions good-bye, I whistled to my dog—crossed the Mississippi, and in a few hours was on my road, on foot and alone,³⁰ bent on reaching Shawnee Town as soon as possible. I had little foreseen the nature of the task before me,—as soon as I had left the [bottom?] lands, on reaching the Prairies, I found them covered with water, like large seas: how-

²⁷ "I found at once it was not the place for me; its population was then composed of low French Canadians, uneducated and uncouth, and the ever-longing wish to be with my beloved wife and children drew my thoughts to Henderson, to which I decided to return almost immediately. Scarcely any communication existed between the two places, and I felt cut off from all dearest to me. Rozier, on the contrary, liked it; he found plenty of French with whom to converse. I proposed selling out to him, a bargain was made, he paid me a certain amount in cash, and gave me bills for the residue. This accomplished, I purchased a beauty of a horse, for which I paid dear enough, and bid Rozier farewell" (Maria R. Audubon, ed., "Audubon's Story of his Youth," *Scribner's Magazine*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, March, 1893, 284-85). According to Lucy Audubon, *Life of Audubon* (p. 45) the whiskey which had been bought for .25 a gallon was sold now for \$2.00.

²⁸ A far more sympathetic and accurate description of Ste. Genevieve is that of Brackenridge (*Views of Louisiana*, 224-29); see also his *Recollections*, 19-27, 199-208. Brackenridge lived in Ste. Genevieve for several years as a little boy and saw the place again as a young man in 1810 and 1811.

²⁹ Later versions carried another sentence here:

"Here I met with the Frenchman who accompanied Lewis and Clark to the Rocky Mountains. They had just returned [*sic!*], and I was delighted to learn from them many particulars of their interesting journey" (Lucy Audubon, *Life of Audubon*, 45).

³⁰ According to another version he returned on horseback, see *ante.*, note 27. Lucy Audubon, *Life of Audubon*, 46, also declares that he bought a horse for the trip.

ever nothing could induce me to return, and my ardent desire to rejoin my wife and family made me careless of inconvenience or fatigue. Unfortunately I had no shoes;—and my mocassins constantly slipped, which made the wading very irksome. Nevertheless, on the first day I made forty-five miles, and swam the Muddy River.³¹ I saw only two cabins during the whole day; but I had great pleasure in observing the herds of deer that were crossing the Prairies, as well as myself, ankle-deep in water. Their graceful motions, and their tails spread to the breeze, were discernible for many miles. With the exception of these beautiful animals, and the thousands of buffalo-skulls that lay scattered about, just appearing above the water, which was about a foot deep—there was nothing remarkable at this season; but in Spring, about the month of May, the Prairies are indeed a garden. The grass, rich and succulent, shoots from the soil with incredible rapidity; and amongst its green carpeting, millions of variegated flowers raise their odoriferous heads. Butterflies of the richest colours hover about in the sunshine, and the humming-bird darts swiftly along, gathering honey, amongst clouds of bees. The deer are quietly reposing upon the luxuriant herbage, in picturesque groups, and the flocks of the squatters are seen scattered about in all directions. The weather is mild, the sky cloudless; and nothing can be conceived more delightful than travelling over these fertile regions at this season. Yet they are infested by one scourge—the Buffalo-gnats. These insects fly in dense bodies, compacted together like swarms of bees, as swift as the wind. They attack a deer or buffalo—alight upon it, and torture the animal to death in a few minutes. This

³¹ He probably crossed the Muddy in the northwest corner of Williamson County.

may appear incredible, till we recollect that the swarms are so dense that above a hundred will often alight upon a square inch. I had myself an opportunity of witnessing their fatal power, when I crossed the same prairies in the May following the very Christmas of which I am writing. I was mounted upon a fine horse; and in consequence of the advice of experienced persons, I had his head and body wholly cloathed with light linen, to protect him from these gnats—leaving only the nostrils uncovered. Being unaware of the full extent of the danger, I was not, as it proved, sufficiently careful in joining the different cloths which covered my horse. I had ridden a considerable distance, when, on a sudden, he actually began to dance: he snorted, leaped, and almost flew from under me. This took place near the Big Muddy River, for which I instantly made, and plunged the horse into the stream to quiet him;—but upon reaching the shore, his motions were languid—his head drooped—and it was with difficulty that I reached a squatter's hut, where the poor animal died in a few hours. He had been bitten between the joinings of his body-cloths by a swarm of these remorseless insects, whose bite is invariably fatal, whenever they can settle upon the body of an animal in any number. They do not attack the human species;—and it is only during the heat of the day that they appear,—at which time the cattle in the prairies resort to the woods for security. The deer rush to the water to avoid them, and stand, during the mid-day heats, with only their noses appearing above the surface.

A light smoke arising from the trees which covered a beautiful mound, promised me a good dinner, and gave me an appetite;—and I made straight for it. The woman

of the house which stood there received me kindly; and, whilst the boys were busied in examining my handsome double-barrelled gun, as I sat drying my clothes by the fire, the daughter ground coffee, fried venison, and prepared eggs; which, washed down by a good glass of brandy, formed a sumptuous repast. To those who, used to the ceremonies of cities, have no idea how soon an acquaintance is cemented in these wilds by the broad ties of hospitality—it would have been a matter of surprise to see how, though we were previously strangers, we became in an hour as familiar as if we had been friends of years.³²

I slept at this hospitable dwelling;—and the kind hostess was stirring at day-break to get me a good breakfast before I started;—of course for all this she would receive no recompence, so I gave each of the boys a horn of powder—a rare and valuable article to a squatter in those days. My way lay through woods, and many cross roads that intersected them embarrassed me much; but I marched on; and, according to my computation, I had left about forty five miles behind me at nightfall. I found a party of Indians encamped by the edge of a cane brake; and having asked in French permission to pass the night with them, my request was granted. My bed was soon prepared, in which, after eating some supper, I was ere long fast asleep. On awakening the next morning, I found, to my surprize, that all the Indians were gone, with their guns—leaving only two dogs to guard

³² Is this the first version of the incident which became the lurid story reported in "The Prairie" (*Ornithological Biography*, I: 81) and incorporated in Lucy Audubon, *Life of Audubon*, 47-51? By the time Audubon wrote the autobiographical sketch published by his granddaughter Maria, he evidently had come to believe firmly that this "woman and her two desperate sons" had really threatened his life (*Scribner's Magazine*, March, 1893, 285). It is possible that such an incident occurred on another occasion and that the dates were later confused.

the camp from the wolves. I was now not above forty miles from Shawnee;³³ and my dog, who knew very well that he was near home, seemed as happy as myself. I did not meet a single person the whole day, and not a cabin was then to be found on that road. At four the same evening I passed the first salt-well; and half an hour brought me to the village. At the Inn, I was met by several of my friends, who had come to purchase salt; and here I slept,—forty seven miles from home.—The next day, to my great joy, brought me to my family:—and thus ended this pleasant excursion. Now confess, my dear friend, were not these rare Christmas doings?

³³ Shawneetown.

THE ILLINOIS HISTORICAL RECORDS SURVEY: A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ITS PUBLICATIONS

BY THOMAS R. HALL

THE outbreak of war in December, 1941, marked the end of an era in the life of the Illinois Historical Records Survey. For the duration of the conflict its trained personnel will be more and more occupied with war activities, and the time which can be devoted to the compilation of archival volumes will be sharply curtailed. Since 1936, this project of the Works Projects Administration, at the present time a phase of the Illinois Public Records Project under the sponsorship of Dwight H. Green, Governor of Illinois, has done pioneer work in inventorying official and unofficial archives in this state.

In Illinois the Survey has always laid emphasis on the compilation of county inventory volumes. By April, 1942, thirty-one of these had been published, all but six of them in mimeographed form. County boards in these six counties financed the publication of their volumes in planographed or printed form, in order that these might be available to the public schools.¹ Three additional counties had their manuscripts in the hands of the printers.² Field work had been completed for thirty-

¹ These counties were Champaign, Fayette, Livingston, Montgomery, Saline, and Shelby.

² Cass, Jersey, and Moultrie.

four more counties, all of which were in varying stages of final editing.

The inventory of church records was begun in Illinois only in March, 1941. By the first of this year 1,708 active and 479 defunct churches, in 43 denominations, had been inventoried. One church volume, an inventory of the archives of the Cairo Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, had been published, and that for the Springfield Presbytery of the same church was ready for mimeographing. Church inventory work will be curtailed by the war, although the Survey plans to publish a guide to the vital statistics records of churches already examined.

Surveys of federal archives have been completed in Illinois. Originally the province of the old Survey of Federal Archives Project, which completed all field work, the publication of these volumes was undertaken by the Historical Records Survey several years ago and all inventories have now been distributed.

Manuscripts work has been suspended for the duration of the war. In this state many of the Survey's activities in this field were experimental. It is extremely unlikely that the Survey will again return to detailed calendaring of manuscript collections; instead emphasis will be placed upon brief calendars and descriptive catalogues.

Since the inception of the American Imprints Inventory, the Illinois Survey has served as the central editing office of this nationwide project engaged in the compilation of check lists of early American printed materials. Although this work has suffered as a result of the war, enough publications have already appeared to demonstrate its great value to American scholarship.

It is undoubtedly the most ambitious bibliographical project ever undertaken in this country.

A list of Survey publications and proposed publications follows.³

INVENTORY OF THE COUNTY ARCHIVES OF ILLINOIS⁴

1. Adams.....	1939
5. Brown.....	1938
8. Carroll.....	1937
10. Champaign.....	1938
12. Clark.....	1938
18. Cumberland.....	1938
20. DeWitt.....	1941
21. Douglas.....	1939
25. Effingham.....	1940
26. Fayette.....	1939
28. Franklin.....	1941
39. Jackson.....	1939
43. Jo Daviess.....	1938
48. Knox.....	1938
53. Livingston.....	1940
54. Logan.....	1938
56. Macoupin.....	1939
65. Menard.....	1941
68. Montgomery.....	1939

³ Archival inventories may be consulted in the following institutions in Chicago: Art Institute, Chicago Bar Association, Chicago Historical Society, DePaul University, Chicago Public Library, Field Museum, Chicago Law Institute, John Crerar Library, Lewis Institute Branch, Illinois Institute of Technology, Loyola University, McCormick Historical Society, Municipal Reference Library, Newberry Library, Northwestern University (Chicago and Evanston), University of Chicago. Complete files of these publications are located in the following downstate institutions: Eastern Illinois State Teachers' College, Charleston; Illinois College, Jacksonville; Illinois State Bar Association, Springfield; Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield; Illinois State Normal University, Normal; Knox College, Galesburg; Morris Public Library, Morris; Northern Illinois State Teachers' College, DeKalb; Illinois State Library, Springfield; Southern Illinois Normal University, Carbondale; Western Illinois State Teachers' College, Macomb.

Imprints check lists will be found at the University of Chicago, McCormick Historical Society, Newberry Library, Illinois State Library, University of Illinois, Illinois State Historical Library, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago Public Library, John Crerar Library, and Northwestern University.

⁴ Except where otherwise stated the place of publication is Chicago, Ill. County publications are numbered according to their place in the alphabetical list of Illinois counties.

69.	Morgan.....	1939
71.	Ogle.....	1940
74.	Piatt.....	1940
75.	Pike.....	1938
81.	Rock Island.....	1939
82.	Saline.....	1941
83.	Sangamon.....	1939
85.	Scott.....	1938
86.	Shelby.....	1941
88.	St. Clair.....	1939
89.	Stephenson.....	1938
92.	Vermilion.....	1940

COUNTY ARCHIVES SCHEDULED FOR EARLY PUBLICATION

1. Peoria County (now being bound).
2. Williamson County (ready for stencils).
3. Cass County (printer's proofs being read).
4. Jersey County (waiting for proofs).
5. Moultrie County (waiting for volumes).
6. Christian County (copy for printer being prepared).

INVENTORY OF FEDERAL ARCHIVES IN THE STATES, NO. 12 ILLINOIS

Series II	Federal Courts.....	1939
Series III	Department of Treasury.....	1939
Series IV	Department of War (2 vols.).....	1941
Series V	Department of Justice.....	1940
Series VII	Department of Navy.....	1940
Series VIII	Department of Interior.....	1941
Series IX	Department of Agriculture (2 vols.).....	1938
Series X	Department of Commerce.....	1938
Series XI	Department of Labor.....	1941
Series XII	Veterans' Administration.....	1941
Series XVI	Farm Credit Administration.....	1941
Series XVII	Miscellaneous Agencies.....	1941

INVENTORY OF THE STATE ARCHIVES OF ILLINOIS

Series III	State Council of Defense (1917-1919).....	1942
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INVENTORY OF THE CHURCH ARCHIVES OF ILLINOIS

Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Presbytery of Cairo.
1941.

CHURCH ARCHIVES SCHEDULED FOR EARLY
PUBLICATION

1. Springfield Presbyteries (mimeographed, awaiting covers).
2. Directory of Negro Baptist Churches (stencils being cut).
3. Guide to Church Vital Statistics (ready for stencils).
4. Cumberland Presbyterian Church (ready for stencils).

MANUSCRIPTS

1. *Guide to Depositories of Manuscript Collections in Illinois (Preliminary Edition)*. 1940.
2. *Calendar of the Ezekiel Cooper Collection of Early American Methodist Manuscripts 1785-1839*. 1941.
3. *Calendar of the Robert Weidensall Correspondence, 1861-1865, at George Williams College, Chicago, Illinois*. 1940.

CHECK LISTS OF EARLY AMERICAN IMPRINTS

1. *Missouri, 1808-1850*. Washington, D. C., 1937.
2. *Minnesota, 1849-1865*. 1938.
3. *Arizona, 1860-1890*. 1938.
4. *Chicago Ante-Fire, 1851-1871*. 1939.
5. *Kentucky, 1788-1810*. Louisville, Ky., 1939.
6. *Kentucky, 1811-1820*. Louisville, Ky., 1939.
7. *Nevada, 1859-1890*. 1939.
8. *Alabama, 1807-1840*. Birmingham, Ala., 1939.
9. *New Jersey, 1784-1800*. Baltimore, Md., 1939.
10. *Kansas, 1854-1876*. Topeka, Kan., 1939.
11. *Kellogg Collection of "Patent Inside" Newspapers of 1876*. 1939.
12. *Sag Harbor, Long Island, N. Y., 1791-1820*. 1939.
13. *Idaho, 1839-1890*. 1940.
14. *West Virginia, 1791-1830*. 1940.
15. *Iowa, 1838-1860*. 1940.
16. *List of Tennessee Imprints, 1793-1840, in Tennessee Libraries*. Nashville, Tenn., 1941.
17. *Ohio, 1796-1890*. Columbus, Ohio, 1941.
18. *Wyoming, 1866-1890*. 1941.
19. *Tennessee, 1841-1850*. Nashville, Tenn., 1941.

IMPRINTS CHECK LISTS SCHEDULED FOR EARLY
PUBLICATION

1. Tennessee, 1793-1840 (stencils being cut).
2. Nevada Supplement, 1859-1890.
3. Utica, N. Y., 1799-1830.
4. Rochester, N. Y., 1816-1850.
5. Illinois (years not decided on).

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS

1. *Guide to Public Vital Statistics Records in Illinois*. 1941.
2. *History in the Making. The Story of the Historical Records Survey in Illinois*. 1940.
3. *The Historical Records Survey and the Political Scientist*. 1940.
4. "A Bibliography of Books, Pamphlets and Broad sides Printed at Canandaigua, New York, 1799-1850," in *Grosvenor Library Bulletins*, Vol. 21, No. 4, Buffalo, N. Y.
5. *A Hand List of American Publishers, 1876-1890*. 1940.
6. *Instructions for the Description of Broad sides*. 1939.
7. *Instructions for Examination of Newspaper Files*. 1939.
8. *Location Symbols for Libraries in the United States*. University, La., 1939.
9. *Location Symbols for Libraries in the United States, Additions and Corrections, January, 1941*. University, La., 1941.
10. *A Preliminary Short-Title List of Books, Pamphlets and Broad sides printed in Florida, 1784-1860*. Jacksonville, Fla., 1937.
11. *A Short-Title Checklist of Books, Pamphlets and Broad sides Printed in Idaho, 1839-1890*. 1938.
12. *Manual of Procedure*. 5th ed., 1939.

HISTORICAL NOTE

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

A soft summer night, frogs trilling in the creek, fireflies pinpricking the pasture, velvet, star-studded sky, the quiet broken by Grandmother's voice saying, "Yes, when I was a child. . . ."

Does the charm of that remembered hour sweep you with sudden nostalgia for things past? Do you wish that you could go back to hear more and still more of your greatgrandmother, and of *her* mother's mother? If so, certainly there runs hotly through your veins the blood of research workers whose *raison d'être* is to delve into old books, old records, old letters; anything so long as it speaks of generations long gone.

Those of us who are so inspired may be entitled to a bit of romantic speculation along the way. We wonder why in the world anyone would want to name a child Arethusa. Why did Jesse Beebe will to his wife a cowbell? Did she throw it away, or was wifely obedience so firmly entrenched that she hung it up over the fireplace where it became a legend, bringing forth memorable stories of "when your Grandfather was alive?"

Studying old wills brings to light some of the most intimate details; the most alluring and astonishing collection of names that cannot be put back into the oblivion of some dusty courthouse without comment. We discover that John Pancake bequeathed to his wife, Marvella, the walnut bedstead he made by hand. To him it was a haven of rest after weary hours of timber-clearing; it was a cradle for his many children, bier for some of them; perhaps Marvella "marvelled" at such bequest. Surely she would rather have had the six solid silver spoons that went to his eldest, Demaris! John, stodgy and sedate though he must have been, drew upon some inner fire when he named his children. (We know that he named them, for we have a yellowed record in Marvella's handwriting of the children's birth, and after each, "John has named baby. . .").

Demaris, Permillia (delightful alliteration—Permillia Pancake!), Keturah and Kedurah, twins; Claudius and Christian. It is fanciful to ponder on the twins. Was Keturah like the incense in the Bible, sweet-smelling? Was Kedurah a dark-skinned, swarthy baby like that far-off Kedar? Claudius, you will recall, was a usurping king; perhaps John's Claudius was a peremptory child, although one finds it difficult to believe that John knew much of Roman history. Had he read *Pilgrim's Progress*, or was he so good himself, that he just naturally gave a fine son the fine name Christian?

Marinda Ice lived up to her name by coldly outliving her husband, and bequeathing all her worldly goods to a foundling who was bound out to her. Even in this burst of spite she did some good, unwittingly.

Surely Ozias Tewksbury was a character straight from Dickens. There couldn't have been a real person so named! But there was, for we have his will before us. He was a man of means, because he left a cow and a horse to each of his twelve children. He was passionately patriotic, for amongst his offspring were America Tewksbury, Tennessee Tewksbury and Daniel Boone Tewksbury, tempered by the gentle Mercy and Charity. From there on the names became prosaic—Anne, Mary, Martha, James and Simon, until we come to the youngest whose name, most expressively, was Lovewell!

Belinda Freelove denied her romantic name by keeping for herself, after selling her household goods, only her broom and her feather duster. Was it because she loathed them most and kept them as a reminder of a harsh past when she was tempted to soft living? Was the turkey which had to be killed to make the duster, a pet of hers? Or had the two things become so much a part of her dreary existence that she kept them unaware, not knowing what to do without them?

One wonders if Aurora ever really saw the dawn breaking boldly over the Kentucky hills, or if it meant only the beginning of another day of work—a day come all too soon after a night's sweet rest in the huge feather bed. She was unusual as her name, for she had but one child, Seraphina. We hope that she really was an angelic child.

Sarilda Sadorus! How lovely the sound! Like a little bubbling brook. She was not one to dream, however, because she mothered plain John, Jane and Mary; Sam, Will and Henry; George, Joseph and Simon; Susan, Sena and Ann!

But what of Celinda, Phildeline, Aquilla, Narcissa and Samantha? What motivated these romantic names? Was Narcissa born in spring when her name-flowers were in riotous bloom, or had her mother read of the youth who fell in love with his own image, and hoped that her babe would be dazzlingly beautiful? Were these names the outward expression of women who rebelled against the hardships of the pioneers, and who resolved to leave in their progeny a mark of their hungry souls?

What of Eunity, Cyrena, Gabriella, Isotta and Valencia? Was there one book, read over and over by candlelight, passed around from family to family until it fell to pieces, in which heroines bearing these names lived lives of luxurious ease? Did the hope linger that by giving the children these euphonious names they might escape the rigors of frontier living? Mayhap Valencia's father was the dandy of his settlement, and had acquired a natty waistcoat of gorgeous valencia cloth just before the baby was born!

Who can plumb the depths of Silence Pieplow? What gift did Temperance bestow? Or was she a vixen, intemperate in all she did? Where did destiny lead Bethire and Barthena? Bether, in the Bible, was synonymous with separation; was Bethire's mother alone when her child was born? Perhaps her husband was off Indian-fighting, and the separation had become so unbearable that it had to be put into words, into something permanent, a reminder in softer days of a great hardship endured alone.

Did Irena and Serena bespeak their names, or were they shrewish, waspish women? Whose slipper fit Cinderella, or did she go barefoot all her days? Was Dolly Madison the fashion plate of the countryside, as was her predecessor, or did she have to be content with linsey-woolsey? Her husband left her 200 head of sheep, "enough for all her woollen needs," so she probably spent most of her time at the spinning wheel.

Many are the names that indicate the migratory tendency of the early pioneer. Some stayed in one place only long enough to weather through a winter, or raise one crop of maize, then pushed on to greener fields. Peoria and Missouri must have regretted many times the accident of birth in places that made such nice names for girls. Think of the mental strain inflicted on the countless boys who labored to measure up to the name George Washington. What a

lot of teasing was in store for all the Turnipseeds! And there were dozens of them, too. The list is inexhaustible, and many the tale that could be woven around Persis and Asenath, Berilla and Livia, Mahala (was she born in the midst of a plague or epidemic, since her name meant sickness?) and Rosena, Arminda and Drusilla (she a little Jewish tailor's daughter, perhaps?), Visela and Cynthia (did her mother know Cynthia was the moon symbol, and could she see the full moon through her one little window)—who were they all, whence their names?

The boys were made of sterner stuff, for certainly Theophilis and Sinai, Feldren and Paschal, Nathan and Squire, could grow up to no foolishness. Poor Squire's father magnanimously willed him "nothing but my good name, and the hope that he so keep it!" What a charge, and what a disappointment for a twenty-one year old lad who was just ready to marry pretty Kitty Kettlestrings!

So through countless dusty pages runs the red thread of romanticism, giving rise to conjecture upon the minds of our ancestors, who expressed themselves so vividly in the names they left us, and in the queer assortment of things they willed to their wives and children. As a final tribute to the ingenuity of those early folk, let us give all hail to Columbia, who topped them all by marrying Praiseworthy, and leaving to posterity her children Peace and Glory!

The inspiration for this article came from some records of early Champaign County, Illinois. Old wills, marriage licenses, account books, names from tombstones in various little cemeteries throughout the county, all provided source material. Some liberty has been taken, for the sake of the story, in combining names. For instance, there may or may not have been a Permillia Pancake, but it illustrates the queer, and often amusing names that were found. Each name is authentic, and is to be found in some one of the many records.

MARGARET CARLOCK HARRIS.

OAK PARK, ILL.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

THE PLEASURES OF TRAVEL, 1846

After a quiet Sabbath, spent with an old friend, we started, bright and early, in a stage-coach, with eleven passengers (in those days Chicago had no railroads), for Peru, the head of navigation on the Illinois River. The distance was a hundred miles, and we accomplished it in about twenty-four hours. The Illinois was very low, and only the smallest boats could navigate it. A sort of mud-shallop, dignified by the appellation of a stern-wheel steamer, awaited our arrival at Peru; and according to the fashion of western boatmen, several hours after everything was in readiness for our departure, the captain rang the bell, and we started. Our fare at dinner was, of course, the never-eaten roast beef, roast pig, and sole-leather pudding; and for breakfast and tea, a dark-coloured witch's broth, that reminded one of Mr. Randolph's retort upon a waiter in hearing of the proprietor of a Richmond hotel. "Boy," said the beardless lord of Roanoke, "change my cup." "Will you have coffee or tea, Mr. Randolph?" "If this is coffee, bring me tea; and if this is tea, bring me coffee—I want a change."

An experience of twenty-four hours upon the wretched little craft made us glad to exchange sailing for staging, at Peoria. Bidding adieu to our travelling companions, my wife and I started, sole occupants of a coach, for a long ride across the State from west to east. Eleven miles out of town, we were informed that we must leave the stage with its four horses, and take a waggon with two, as "they only kept the stage for grandeur, to run into 'Peory.'" But we were young and light-hearted, and as the weather was fine, thought we could put up with rough accommodations. Placing a trunk in the rear of the waggon—which, by the way, had only wooden springs—to make a more comfortable seat than the rough unplanned board, we jolted off. At the house where we stopped to dine, my wife was for the first time introduced to all the mysteries

of a western kitchen. The chickens were killed, picked and cleaned, cooked and served before our eyes; and the leaden biscuits and half-raw corn bread were kneaded and baked under our inspection. Mine was a hearty meal, but hers was very slender. I had the advantage of her in being accustomed to such fare, and withal, as she averred after starting for our afternoon's ride, in the fact that I couldn't see what I was eating.¹ Eyes, she thought, were very much in the way of people who proposed to travel "out west." Indeed, one of the precepts of the country is, "shut your eyes and go it blind," and it may have sprung from the amount of dirt intermixed with some man's dinner. Toward sundown, we were approaching the town of Bloomington, where we were to lie over until two the next morning, in order to make connexion with another stage line. I inquired of our driver what sort of accommodations we should find at the hotel in town. He assured us that we should get nothing fit to eat, and that if we attempted to sleep, the bed-bugs would eat us up. Not disposed to run this gauntlet, I asked him to drive me to the door of the Methodist that lived in the largest and most comfortable house. . . .

Of course we received a hearty welcome, and ere long were seated at a bountiful board. But we had not finished supper, when a messenger came in hot haste with the request that I should go to visit a dying man, and administer the last offices of religion to him. I spent a couple of hours by his bed-side, and in attempting to console his heart-broken wife; then by ten o'clock was fast asleep. At two, we were roused by the elemental strife, by the horn and shouts of our stage-driver. We were soon seated in our miserable waggon, with no protection from the driving rain but a tow linen cover, through which the water dripped in showers. We had been overtaken by a furious equinoctial storm which began about midnight, and our plight was pitiable enough. The temperature had fallen about forty degrees; the night was pitchy dark, only relieved by frequent flashes of lightning, most vivid and sometimes appalling, instantly followed by sharp and stunning reports of thunder. But the flashes helped to light our driver on his way, or would have done so, had they not shewed the whole prairie a pool of water. After a time we reached a little belt of timber, indicating our ap-

¹Milburn, blinded in one eye at the age of five, lost the sight of the other eye while still a young man.

proach to a creek. As we crossed the bridge, we heard the now swollen torrent rushing through a deep ravine, when the broad glare revealed our position.

"By Jove!" shouted the driver with glee; "weren't that lucky? a half minute more and we'd have been all smashed. I never was so near goin' over a bridge; half an inch more, and we'd been over, and then salt wouldn't have saved us." To the rather timid question of my wife as to whether there were any more bad bridges to cross before daylight, he replied,—"'Oh yes, several; but you mustn't be skeered; we must all die some time, you know!'"

WILLIAM H. MILBURN, *Ten Years of Preacher-Life*, 147-50.

THOSE WERE THE DAYS!

TREMONT HOUSE, CHICAGO

BREAKFAST

English Breakfast Tea, Old Hyson Tea, Coffee, Chocolate.

Broiled.

Mutton Chops, Plain, Veal Cutlets, Plain, Mutton Chops, Breaded,
Beef Steak, Plain, Veal Cutlets, Breaded, Ham,
Duffield's Breakfast Bacon, Beef Kidneys, Calf's Liver, Plain,
Beef Steak, with Fried Calf's Liver, with Beef Steak, with Onions,
Potatoes, Fried Pork, Pig's Feet.
Pork Chops, Broiled Tripe,

Fried.

Country Sausage, Country Sausage Balls, Cracked Wheat,
Fried Hominy,
Calf's Liver, Fried Tripe, Ham and Eggs, Kidneys.

Boiled Rice, Hashed Meat, Stewed Kidneys,
Boiled Hominy.

Fish.

Broiled Salt Mackerel, Codfish Balls, Broiled White Fish, Plain.

Eggs.

Boiled Eggs, Scrambled Eggs, Sherred Eggs,
Fried Eggs, Omelette, Plain, Omelette, with Sugar Rum,
Scrambled Eggs, with Ham. Poached Eggs, on Toast.

Cold Meats.

Cold Roast Beef,
Cold Boiled Ham,

Cold Boiled Tongue,
Cold Corned Beef.

Potatoes.

Stewed, Fried, à la Rounaise, Fried, Plain, Boiled.

Bread, etc.

French Rolls,	Graham Bread,	Dry and Dipped Toast,
Corn Bread,	Brown Bread,	White Rolls,
Plain Bread,	Hard Crackers,	Buttered Toast,
Boston Brown Bread Toast,	Stale Bread,	Indian Cakes,
Buckwheat Cakes,	Cracked Wheat,	Loaf Sugar Syrup.

HOURS OF MEALS

Breakfast: 6 to 11 A.M. Dinner: 1 to 4 P.M. Dinner: 5 to 6 P.M.

Tea from 6 to 9 P.M. Supper from 9 to 12 P.M.

Sundays.—Dinner from 1½ until 3 P. M., and from 4 to 5 P. M.

Children and Nurses.—Breakfast from 7 to 9 A. M. Dinner 12½.

Tea 6 P.M.

All Meals, Lunches, and Fruits, sent to Rooms, will be charged extra.

Specimen bill of fare in GEORGE ROSE,
The Great Country (1868), 384.

CELEBRATING THE FOURTH OF JULY

The fourth of July, "Independence day," is a grand affair all over the Union, when the pulsations of liberty arouse the nation to its remotest extremities, causing some of these to cut very curious antics. I witnessed one of these exhibitions at a small town in Illinois. On arriving at the place, I found a considerable number of people in the stores, inns, and under any shade that could be got from the rays of a most intense sun. The only stir in the dusty track called a street was about a well, which had been so often disturbed by the descending bucket, that the water had become the colour of gruel. Conversation proceeded languidly, and as if all felt the mere act of breathing to be labour sufficient for the time. The purple martin alone seemed to enjoy himself as he swept past with his loud whistle, or fluttered and chattered among a number of his companions, at the gable of a frame house. . . .

About noon, a considerable number of men and boys had collected in the street opposite the "house of entertainment," from which there shortly issued two fiddles and a flute, doing their best at "Hail! Columbia," and followed by the ladies marching in pairs. After the ladies had all passed, the gentlemen followed, in similar style. All was done with the most profound gravity; there was no hurraing, no laughing nor talking, nor indeed any sounds save those proceeding from two very bad fiddles and a flute, and the crowd of martins overhead. It would have been considered the very height of indecorum had one of the beaus offered his arm to any of the ladies. I am far from objecting to gravity of demeanour on an occasion like this. The commemoration of the freedom and independence of a people ought to elicit feelings which are not to be exhibited in noise and tumult; but the demeanour I have alluded to prevails at all public meetings of the sexes, and is a national trait.

The procession left the town, and entered the forest, where, after having proceeded about a quarter of a mile, it halted among some trees, whose foliage tempered the rays of the sun to a mellow light. It was a truly fine temple of liberty. In an open space, among the tall stems, stood a waggon, into which mounted the orator, and another gentleman who introduced him to the audience. The oration consisted of what one might have supposed to be a series of unconnected scraps, the reminiscences of previous and similar occasions, and was delivered in a hesitating, unanimated style, which contrasted strangely with the bombast conveyed by the words. Indeed, the man seemed, to use one of their own expressions, "to be in pretty much of a fix." The audience sat or lay at full length on the ground, the ladies on one side of the waggon, and the gentlemen on the other, whilst some boys, or rather little men, for the boyhood of America seems to be as short as its spring, were overlooking the whole from some bushy trees.

There was no drunkenness or riot consequent on this occasion; indeed, the first example of drunkenness I saw in this neighbourhood was in a grocery to which I was attracted by the sound of a fiddle, where, on entering, I found the barkeeper playing "old coon" to a tipsy man who was dancing; and this man was an Englishman. Any other examples I saw, and they were few, were of reputedly worthless characters.

WILLIAM OLIVER, *Eight Months in Illinois* (1843), 60-62.

DIRECTORY OF ILLINOIS OPERA HOUSES AND HALLS, 1870

ALTON

Mercantile Hall.—A. K. Root, Proprietor. A room 48 x 90, with gallery; seated with arm chairs, and furnished with all modern appliances for a first class concert room. Capacity, 500 seats. Rent must be paid before the gas is lit.

BLOOMINGTON

Schroder's Opera House.—Dr. H. Schroder, Proprietor. Opposite new Court House and next the Post Office on Public Square. This house is built in the best style, with all the modern improvements. Private boxes, orchestra chairs, parquette with raised seats, dress circle, balcony and galleries. Most convenient dressing and green rooms in the city. Seating from 300 to 400 more people than any other hall or building in Bloomington. Has seven full sets of scenery (four more than any other house here), and situated opposite the Court House Square.

DANVILLE

Lincoln Hall.—W. W. R. Woodbury, Proprietor. The proprietor would inform all agents and managers of first class exhibitions, that the above Hall, so long and popularly known, contains all those advantages which are usually possessed by halls located in interior towns. Arranged with comfortable settees, and lighted with valuable chandeliers, while the stage affords convenience for the rendition of almost all classes of entertainments; convenient dressing rooms, &c., &c. Location good.

DECATUR

Smith's Opera House.—E. Smith, Proprietor. This new and elegant Opera House, only recently erected at great expense, excels all others in this part of the State. Great attention and a lavish expenditure of money have succeeded in placing it among the foremost theatres or halls of Illinois. Admirably located, entrance next door to the post-office, well heated and lighted, large and spacious stage, complete with comfortable dressing rooms. Well adapted for singing.

FREEPORT

Wilcoxon Opera House.—T. Wilcoxon, Proprietor. Agents and managers of amusement traveling companies will be delighted to learn that a new and beautiful Opera House has recently been erected in the beautiful little city of Freeport. Erected at great expense, in which a lavish expenditure has elicited the admiration of all who have witnessed the beauty of its design, or the grandeur of its architectural adornment. Seating capacity 1000 persons.

Location.—Its situation is excellent. Commanding an extensive view of Public Square, while four principle thoroughfares extend along its base. The most eligible and easiest of access of any building in the city.

Entra.—Approached by way of the grand staircase. An elaborate and highly convenient ticket office at once greets the visitor, while a large and spacious vestibule obviates all inconvenience in the purchase of tickets of admission.

Classification.—Arranged into orchestra and dress circle, elaborately seated with comfortable chairs, sufficiently numerous to accommodate all. An entire view of the stage can be had from any portion of the auditorium.

Stage.—23 by 45 feet, insures the successful rendition of all classes of entertainments, including opera, theatrical, minstrel, pantomime or farce, spectacular, &c., &c.

Scenery.—New and beautiful scenery, designed and painted by the celebrated limners, the Weidling Bros. of Chicago, surpasses in variety and magnificence any of their previous efforts.

Dressing Rooms.—Ample, spacious and comfortable, including green room and convenient property room, in fact all that imagination could invent or fancy picture, is contained in this fairy temple of the muses.

Having examined the above hall, I can confidently say that it pre-eminently excels all others in the State in point of beauty and acoustical properties.—Ed.

Fry's Hall.—I. P. Norman, Proprietor. The above elegant Hall, recently refitted and redecorated, together with the collection of new and magnificent scenery, convenient dressing rooms, and all of those necessary advantages used by the amusement profession, is now ready for occupancy.

GALESBURG

Caledonia Hall.—James Murdoch & Co., Proprietors. The attention of agents and managers is directed to this beautiful and complete Hall, so long and favorably known as the only tenable Hall in the city of Galesburg. Pleasantly situated directly in the heart of the city. Wide and convenient entrance, with large and splendid auditorium, well ventilated and heated with modern appliances. Elegantly seated and brilliantly illuminated with gas; a well appointed stage, complete in detail, comfortable dressing rooms with modern improvements. Will accommodate 1,200 persons.

JACKSONVILLE

Strawn's Opera House.—W. D. Crowell, Agent. The above elegant Hall, so long and popularly known by all agents and managers, has been thoroughly refitted and beautifully decorated with gorgeous proscenium and elaborate scenery from the skillful pencil of Porter. Complete in detail and unsurpassed in the beauty of its adornments. Comfortable dressing rooms, and every modern convenience, add to its varied attractions; brilliantly illuminated with myriads of gas jets, while its acoustical properties are unexcelled by any other in the United States. Location on the public square. Seating capacity 1,000 persons. Admirable entrance, and access to auditorium by one flight of stairs.

JOLIET

Young's Hall.—Chas. Werner & Co., Proprietors. The above Hall has been thoroughly refitted, redecorated, new and important additions, alterations, &c., &c., making it one of the most desirable halls in Central Illinois. Commanding an extensive view of the park, and directly opposite the Auburn House, its advantages of access are noticeable. Complete stage, comfortable dressing rooms, &c., &c.

MOLINE

Dunn's Hall.—Thos. Dunn, Proprietor. Moline has always been considered a place of prominent importance for entertainments to stop at when visiting Rock Island. Dunn's Hall is amply adapted for all kinds of shows. The location is good. Convenient stage, dressing rooms, well seated and lighted, and the only Hall of importance in the town.

OTTAWA

Turner Hall.—A. H. Frobel, Agent. This Hall, so long and intimately known, combines advantages which commends it to the favorable opinion of the show profession. Owned and supported by a stock company, who represent a large per centum of the population of Ottawa. Good stage and scenery, comfortable seated, and well adapted for singing. Will accommodate 1,000 persons.

PEORIA

Rouse's Opera Hall.—R. Rouse, Proprietor. R. Rouse, Jr., Agent and Manager. This popular institution is well adapted to and much used for theatres, operas, concerts, minstrels, balls, festivals, lectures, panoramas, conventions, &c. It has been enlarged and greatly improved. It has an ample stage, with scenery, comfortable dressing rooms, &c. One of the most noticeable advantages which this Hall possesses, is its admirable location, being directly over the post office, on Main Street, which, of course, it cannot be denied, is quite an acquisition. Acoustical qualities good. It is classified as follows: Auditorium and dress circle. Since its enlargement it presents a great many agreeable features.

Parmely Hall.—O. C. Parmely, Proprietor. The above well known and popular Hall is situated in the business portion of the city, and comprises many advantages in common with other halls. Its favorable situation serves to render it very accessible from different portions of the city. Large and spacious auditorium, well seated and lighted; with large and spacious stage, complete in detail, and offering unsurpassed advantages to the amusement profession. Adapted for singing.

QUINCY

Quincy Opera House.—Jas. J. Langdon, Agent, corner Main and Sixth Streets. This is the finest and most complete Hall in the West. Its measurement is 70 by 123 feet. Auditorium, 59 by 80 feet; 32 feet high. Stage, 40 by 59. Drop curtain, 28 by 25 feet. There are also seven dressing rooms, one sitting or green room, four private boxes, one reserved, and illuminated balcony, with seating accommodation for 1,200 persons. On the stage are eighteen different sets of scenery, and new ones are being added as fast as required. Population of the city 35,000. The Hall is for rent to all first class entertainments at reasonable rates.

ROCK ISLAND

Daits Hall.—Henry Daits' Sons, Proprietors. The attention of the show profession is invited to the superior facilities of Daits Hall, so long and familiarly known to amusement companies. In point of location it is unsurpassed, commanding an extensive view of the principal thoroughfare of the city, elegantly seated, and comfortably heated when necessary. Excellent ventilation, together with the new improvements which have recently been added, make it one of the most attractive Halls in the State. Stage supplied with scenery, foot and head lights.

ROCKFORD

Brown's Hall.—I. P. Norman, Proprietor. This beautiful Hall having been recently refitted and elaborately adorned, is now opened for occupancy for first class companies by the day or week. Beautifully seated and brilliantly lighted, with scenery, dressing rooms, &c., &c. Seating capacity 1,000 persons.

SPRINGFIELD

Rudolph's Opera House.—A. Wolf, Agent, at the Hall, corner Sixth and Jefferson Streets. Special Notice to Minstrel Troupes, Theatres, Social Clubs, etc. This Hall is entirely new—one of the finest public buildings in the west; has a capacity of seating 1,500 persons, with parquette, dress circle and splendid airy gallery, and is fitted with all the modern improvements. Especially adapted to theatres, minstrel troupes, concerts, operas, &c. The great expense at which this Hall has been fitted, has given it the precedence as the most fashionable and desirable Hall in the west. The scenery is all new, emanating as it does from the brush of the finest artists that could be procured.

WAUKEGAN

Phoenix Hall.—Wm. C. Tiffany, Secretary. This is a spacious, centrally located Hall, 60 x 90 feet, and will comfortably seat 600 persons. It is well furnished, well lighted, and tastefully arranged, containing gallery and anterooms, and during the winter months well warmed. It was erected in 1868 by a stock company comprising many of the principal citizens of Waukegan, on the ruins of the once popular Dickinson Hall, which was consumed by fire December, 1866.

O. P. SWEET, *Amusement Directory*, 102, 136, 148, 184, 224, 282, 315, 348, 362, 364, 379, 398, 399, 425, 427, 455.

NEWS AND COMMENT

A revealing volume is the *Bibliography of Foreign Language Newspapers and Periodicals Published in Chicago*, recently published by the Chicago Public Library Omnibus Project of the Work Projects Administration. Averaging ten entries to a page, 150 pages are required to list the foreign language papers published in Chicago now or in the past. And the nationalities! One would expect to find German, Polish, Czech, Swedish, and a few others, and one does; but there are also entries for papers or magazines published in Arabic, Armenian, Persian, Hindustan, Chinese, and other languages no less unfamiliar.

Each listing includes the following information: title, translation of title, frequency of issue, type of publication (newspaper or periodical), editorial policy, date of establishment, date of expiration, name of editor, name and address of publisher, and library location symbols designating holdings. Unfortunately, there are relatively few library symbols, indicating that in the great majority of cases, no files are known to exist.



Inventory of the Church Archives of Illinois, Springfield Presbytery, issued by the Illinois Historical Records Survey, is a valuable publication. The book contains concise histories of the Springfield Presbytery, the denominational divisions of the Presbyterian Church in Illinois, the church's educational institutions, and individual churches. Included also are descriptions of all existing church records. The latter, as the Editor points out in his preface, are valuable not only for their potential historical contribution, but also because baptismal records are frequently indispensable in proving dates of birth not otherwise registered.



Coal mining is one of Illinois' great basic industries. Yet there is no place where one can find a comprehensive history of mining in this state save in an obscure bulletin of the State Geological Sur-

vey, and even scattered references to the development of the industry are few. One welcomes, therefore, *The First Century and a Quarter of American Coal Industry*, by Howard N. Eavenson¹—a comprehensive account of coal mining in the United States from the discovery of coal by Jolliet and Marquette in 1673 to the present. In view of its position in the industry, Illinois may seem to receive relatively little space, but the summary of the history of mining is well-documented, and the production tables and other statistical data will be most welcome.



A very useful publication for anyone using French sources for Mississippi Valley history is *A Glossary of Mississippi Valley French, 1673-1850*, by John Francis McDermott.² Ten years ago Professor McDermott started to make a list of words used by the French in the Mississippi Valley which were not to be found in standard French dictionaries, or, if found there, were given meanings different from those indicated by the context in which they appeared. This monograph is the result. The glossary, which is arranged in alphabetical order and fully documented, includes nearly a thousand words and phrases.



St. Louis as a Fortified Town, by James B. Musick,³ is a detailed study of the part played by St. Louis in western military history from the Revolution to the War of 1812. The text is based on a diversity of sources, many of them rare, and twenty-five reproductions of contemporary maps and drawings serve as illustrations. The fact that St. Louis was known for many years as "St. Louis des Illinois" indicates how close was the connection between its history and that of the region which eventually became the State of Illinois.



Eleven years ago Dwight L. Dumond collected and edited an illuminating volume entitled, *Southern Editorials on Secession*. Now

¹ Privately printed, Koppers Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa. \$8.00.

² Dep't. of Serials and Documents, Library of Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. \$1.50.

³ The author, 4962 Tholozan Ave., St. Louis, Mo. \$4.50.

comes a companion publication, *Northern Editorials on Secession*,⁴ edited by Howard C. Perkins of Bradley Polytechnic Institute.

To find typical expressions of opinion Professor Perkins examined a hundred thousand editorials in newspapers preserved in 140 libraries and newspaper offices. He finally selected 495 editorials which appeared in 190 newspapers. Every northern state, the District of Columbia, western Virginia, and Kansas, then a territory, are represented. In time, the editorials run from September, 1860, through June, 1861. Arrangement is chronological, but twenty-seven periods have been distinguished and titled. Thus the first editorials are grouped under the heading, "The Campaign of 1860;" those which follow are given the subject, "The Prospect of Secession;" and those with which the collection concludes are entitled, "Moral and Spiritual Values."

That *Northern Editorials on Secession* will be a rich mine for historians is a foregone conclusion. This does not mean, however, that the general reader should ignore it. Like all historical source material, this book conveys an impression of actuality which secondary works rarely achieve. It also reminds one that 1860-1861 and 1941-1942 are not as far apart as they appear to be. Eighty-one years ago there were the same confusions, the same bitter disagreements, the same complacencies that marked the press of the United States in the fall of 1941. Then came Fort Sumter, unifying the North as Pearl Harbor unified the whole country last December. Professor Perkins' editorials go only six weeks beyond the outbreak of war. Had he carried them further, the reader would find that unanimity was short-lived, and that in the press there was sharply divided opinion as to means, and even ends. If history repeats itself, as it is said to do, perhaps we may look for a similar trend during the next few months.



Lists of philatelic and numismatic items picturing Abraham Lincoln have recently been issued in mimeographed form by the Illinois State Historical Library. Both lists were compiled by Frank Rossi of Chicago. Copies are available without cost to members of the Illinois State Historical Society. Requests should be addressed to Paul M. Angle, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Illinois.

⁴ Appleton-Century, 1942. 2 vols., \$10.00.

Clyde Leclare Grose, head of the Department of History at Northwestern University during the past year, died at his home in Evanston on May 6. A member of the faculty at Northwestern since 1916, Dr. Grose was the author of numerous articles on historical subjects and a *Select Bibliography of British History, 1660-1760*.



We note with pleasure that Bucknell University has conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws on L. Hubbard Shattuck, Director of the Chicago Historical Society. Mr. Shattuck is a Bucknell alumnus.



Months before the war broke out, the Illinois State Historical Society planned to meet in Galena during the spring of 1942. After tire rationing greatly increased the difficulty of travel, the Directors of the Society considered the advisability of cancelling the meeting, but a poll of members indicated that a substantial number wanted the meeting held as scheduled. It was set, therefore, for May 16. Eighty members and their friends attended. There was a luncheon at the Historical Museum and Community Center, a tour of Galena on foot, a visit to the Grant Memorial Home, and a dinner at which the principal feature was an address by Miss Minnie Whitham, "Galena in the Nation's History." At the conclusion of the meeting, many of those present described it as one of the most pleasant and most instructive occasions they had enjoyed for a long time.



On the grounds of the Aurora Historical Society a red maple tree was planted on Arbor Day, April 17. A bronze memorial tablet was placed at the base of the tree. The event was arranged by the various garden clubs of Aurora to commemorate the work of Mrs. J. H. Bliss, president and organizer of the Garden Club Council of Aurora. Mrs. Clay W. Harkness made the principal speech. Following the dedication ceremonies, the Ladies Auxiliary of the Spanish-American War Veterans presented an American flag to the Aurora Historical Society. Members of the Society invited citizens of the community to an open house immediately after the exercises.

A World War II scrapbook for the Boone County Historical Society has been started by Mr. and Mrs. John Oberholser of Belvidere. A list of all Boone County soldiers and sailors in this war, together with photographs and clippings, is included in the book. Relatives of persons enrolled in any branch of the service are urged to contribute information and snapshots for use in this collection. The Reverend R. D. Walters is chairman of a committee appointed to enlist the co-operation of the churches.

A committee has also been appointed to keep a scrapbook in which the activities of the Society will be recorded. Mrs. Floyd Smith, chairman, is being assisted by Mrs. E. B. Long and Miss Nelva Dean.

The Society held a "school days" program on April 13. Old class pictures and programs were on display, and a program relating to the early history of the Boone County schools was presented.

An organization committee was recently appointed to widen the scope of the Society's work and to secure adequate representation in every township in the county. The Society had a paid membership of 142 in 1940-1941. It is hoped that every member will not only renew his membership but also secure one or more new members for the 1942-1943 season. Any citizen of the county is eligible to join the Society.



The museum and library of the Bureau County Historical Society registered a total of 1,183 persons during 1941. This number included visitors from twenty-eight states, Canada, and the Philippines. "Teachers are especially urged to bring groups of students in for a tour of inspection, as actually seeing the things that the pioneers used is worth more than several history lessons. There are guns that killed deer and Indians; there are Indian relics of all kinds; there are pioneer cabin utensils, old dresses, old signs and hundreds of other things that are very rare and unusual."



The eighth annual meeting of the Ravenswood-Lake View Historical Association (Chicago) was held on April 16. T. T. Sullivan, president, made a few introductory remarks, Miss Jessie Reed gave

an address of welcome, and speeches were made by John Drury, Robert Greer, and William Mason. A skit, "Aunt Martha's Birthday," was presented by members of the Ravenswood Civic League.



T. H. Golightly was elected president of the West Side Historical Society (Chicago) at the annual meeting on January 16. Three hundred and fifty members were present on this occasion. Other officers elected include: J. C. Miller, first vice-president; Harlo Grant, second vice-president; Miss Lois M. Bergh, third vice-president; Charles M. Carter, fourth vice-president; Miss Roberta Metcalfe, treasurer; and Mrs. Gertrude I. Jenkins, secretary-historian. Miss Pearl I. Field, founder of the organization, is honorary life president.

Otto Eisenschiml was re-elected chairman of the Board of Directors. Members of the board are Dennis J. Ryan, Signy Hoff, John T. McEnery, Frank L. Wood, Ray McCarthy, J. Beidler Camp, S. E. Cleveland, Amerigo R. Sansone, and Henry W. Austin.



A program devoted to community art was presented at the February meeting of the Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago). Mrs. Albion Headburg gave a short history of the South Side Art Association; Mrs. L. B. Herbst discussed "Aims for a Lorado Taft Scholarship Fund;" and Mrs. Nelle Wall talked on "Art in the Public Schools." Remarks were also made by Frank Dudley, Frederick C. Hibbard and William Eppens, Woodlawn artists. Music was furnished by Miss Lois Shamberg, Miss Lorraine Lynn and Miss Hazel Hersh.

The following people were elected to office for the current year: Mrs. Marshall D. Miller, president; Leo T. Heid, vice-president; Mrs. Alma Wilson McMahill, recording secretary; Mrs. Paul I. Pierson, corresponding secretary; and Marcus Mullen, treasurer. New members of the board of directors are Mrs. Netta B. Goss, Mrs. C. C. Whittier, and George Fleming.



Members of the Des Plaines Historical Society were entertained at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Walter H. Tallant on February 24.

Various articles of historical interest were brought by the guests for display at this meeting.



Members of the Edwards County Historical Society held their first meeting in their new home—the birthplace of the late Governor Emmerson—on March 9. On this occasion, Edgar L. Dukes gave a history of the Emmerson home from the earliest recorded transaction to the present. Mrs. Virginia Skinner spoke on "The New Harmony Movement," Mrs. Carro Long read from the diary of Robert Owen, reprinted in the *Albion Journal*, and Miss Alice Bradshaw discussed Owen's attempt to establish a colony at New Harmony.

At the April meeting of the Society, Mrs. Skinner made another talk on the New Harmony settlement.



The spacious Evanston home of General Charles G. Dawes, former vice-president of the United States and former ambassador to the Court of St. James, will be the headquarters of the Evanston Historical Society at some future date. In this historic mansion, recently presented to Northwestern University, the Society will have office room and exhibit space for the material which it has acquired on the history of Evanston. General Dawes has also presented his extensive collection of important documents on the Northwest Territory to Northwestern University and has established endowment funds for the maintenance of the home and the collection. The Dawes home, which will become the Northwestern Historical Center, was built in the early 1890's by the late Robert D. Sheppard. It was purchased by General and Mrs. Dawes in 1909 and has been the family home since that date. General Dawes made his official acceptance speech for the vice-presidential nomination from the porch of this house in 1924. General and Mrs. Dawes will continue to occupy the home as long as they live.

The Grosse Point Lighthouse, a landmark just north of the Northwestern University campus in Evanston, was donated to the Evanston Historical Society on February 15. This structure, erected in 1873, was abandoned by the federal government in 1941.

Presented first to the Evanston Park Board, that group turned it over to the Evanston Historical Society. The Society intends to make the lighthouse available to the public for historical and educational purposes as soon as repairs have been made.

At the March meeting of the Society, Paul M. Angle, Springfield, spoke on the subject, "The Cartographic History of Illinois." Stereopticon slides of maps dating back to 1675 were used to illustrate his lecture.



When the Glencoe Historical Society met on April 1, Dr. James A. James, former president of the Illinois State Historical Society, addressed the group. S. G. Ingraham, mayor of Evanston, was also a guest speaker. A chorus of Glencoe school children provided a musical program.



The Kankakee County Historical Society, recently reorganized, elected officers on March 6. Lynn O. Minor was chosen president, Rush Huff, vice-president, and Gilbert Hertz, secretary-treasurer. The following persons were elected members of the executive board: Vernon McBroom, G. W. Boyd, B. F. Hertz, Monroe Curtis, Mrs. Edith Vade Bon Coeur, Mrs. Clay Buntain, Mrs. Victor Boudreau, Mrs. Earl Francis, and Huntington James.



"The Western Chroniclers" is the name adopted by the new historical society of Knox County. Meetings will be held on the fourth Mondays of September, November, January, March and May. The following officers have been elected: Judge E. S. Stickney, president; William L. Goodwin, vice-president; William R. Kounter, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Ann Elphick, recording secretary and treasurer; and Kathryn Mackin, custodian. All offices are filled for one year except that of a custodian, which is for three years. The constitution of the new organization was drawn up by a committee composed of the following members: Dr. Herman Muelder, Mrs. Ann Elphick, and Miss Jeanne Humphrey.

Circuit Judge George C. Dixon was elected president of the Lee County Historical Society at a meeting on April 6. Other new officers are: Mrs. B. C. Pollock, vice-president; Mrs. Frances G. Goe, secretary; and Mrs. Beatrice Howell Lanphier, treasurer. The program committee for the year includes Mrs. Hazel Thompson, Mrs. E. E. Wingert, and Mrs. B. C. Pollock.

L. W. Miller, speaker at the April meeting, selected "Dixon College" for his subject. A committee was appointed to arrange transportation for those desiring to take the May tour in the Galena area with members of the Illinois State Historical Society. William H. Haeffliger, Mrs. Beatrice H. Lanphier, and J. B. Lennon were named to serve in this capacity.



On the fiftieth anniversary of the McLean County Historical Society, a plaque dedicated to the memory of Judge Colostin D. Myers and Mrs. Myers was unveiled in the McLean County courthouse in Bloomington. The inscription reads: "In memory of Colostin D. Myers, county judge of McLean County 1886 to 1897, judge 11th judicial circuit 1897 to 1915, who, with his wife Dora Myers, so generously gave to the charities and educational institutions of this community. Dedication 1942."

Wayne C. Townley, president of the McLean County Historical Society, presided at the ceremony. Dr. E. W. Shaw, president of Illinois Wesleyan University, paid a tribute to Judge and Mrs. Myers. Oscar G. Hoose presented the plaque to the county and J. H. Stutzman, chairman of the board of supervisors, accepted it for the county.

Preceding the unveiling of the plaque, members of the McLean County Historical Society had a luncheon at the Hotel Rogers in Bloomington. A paper on "Ward Hill Lamon in Bloomington," prepared by Clint Clay Tilton of Danville, was read by Wayne C. Townley because of Mr. Tilton's inability to be present.

The general committee for the ceremonies was composed of the following persons: Mrs. Paul King, R. O. Ahlenius, Campbell Holton, Mrs. L. J. Freeman, Mrs. Henry Capen, the Reverend Loyal M. Thompson, Chester Marquis, Mrs. John Brokaw, Oscar Hoose, Miss Mary Howard, Fred Salkeld, Dr. W. E. Shaw, Miss Maxine Gar-

rison, Harry Melby, Miss Thelma VanNess, Miss Maude Beebe, and Mrs. Minnie Folsom.



A sketch of the Austin family was the latest in the series of programs on pioneer families presented by the Macon County Historical Society. This paper was read at the March meeting by William Austin, Harristown, a grandson of one of the men who helped lay out the city of Decatur. A discussion of Lincoln in Macon County by Edwin Davis was also included on the program.



The Maywood Historical Society has re-elected all former officers for 1942. They are: W. L. Castleman, president; Mrs. Susan Hough, first vice-president; Vernell C. Dammeier, second vice-president; Marguerite N. Ealund, secretary; and Mildred E. Diesner, treasurer.



Dr. Harry E. Pratt, Springfield, was the guest speaker at the April meeting of the Morgan County Historical Society. His subject was "Douglas' Great Decade—1833 to 1843." This meeting constituted the Society's annual observance of the founding of Jacksonville.



An old carper-bag and other types of ancient luggage carried by Oak Park pioneers were displayed by Mrs. John B. McEwan at the meeting of the Oak Park Historical Society on February 19. Mrs. McEwan displayed these interesting exhibits in connection with a talk she gave on "How Oak Park Traveled in the Early Days." An informal reception followed the lecture. This meeting marked the fifth anniversary of the founding of the Oak Park organization. Meetings are held on the third Thursdays of October, February and May. The principal officers of the Society are Thomas Doane, president; Mrs. G. W. White, vice-president; and Mrs. F. W. Stevens, secretary-treasurer.

Two speeches were included on the program of the Peoria Historical Society on April 20. Floyd L. Barloga described the Indian mound explorations in the Peoria region, and G. R. Barnett gave a brief sketch of the Illinois waterway. Colored motion pictures were used to illustrate the first talk.



The annual dinner meeting of the Rock Island County Historical Society was held in Rock Island on February 20. R. W. Olmsted spoke on "The Constitution."



Members of the Schuyler County Historical Society and the Rushville Rotary Club met at Scripps Park, Rushville, on April 23. Jay Monaghan, editor in the Illinois State Historical Library, was the guest speaker.



The annual spring dinner meeting of the Southern Illinois Historical Society was held in Benton on April 30. Thomas J. Layman, Benton, discussed the topic, "When America's Great Came to Franklin County," and Dr. Richard L. Beyer, Carbondale, spoke on "The Role of the Historical Society in War Time." At the short business meeting which followed the program, final plans for the Society's historical pilgrimage were made.



Members of the Vermilion County Historical Society were guests of the Century Club of Indianola on May 13. A potluck supper was held in the gymnasium of the high school. O. D. Mann, president of the Society, and Clint Clay Tilton, former president of the Illinois State Historical Society, were the speakers on this occasion.



Members of the Winnetka Historical Society visited the Chicago Historical Society on February 21. The Lincoln exhibits and dioramas were especially emphasized by the guide who lectured to the group.

CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. Richard L. Beyer is head of the Department of Social Sciences at Southern Illinois Normal University, president of the Southern Illinois Historical Society, and one of the directors of the Illinois State Historical Society. . . . Dr. Dwight F. Clark is a surgeon residing in Evanston. He is president of the Evanston Historical Society. . . . Jay Monaghan is Editor in the Illinois State Historical Library. . . . Miss Lorene Martin, a resident of Virginia, Illinois, has previously contributed articles to the publications of the Illinois State Historical Society. . . . John Francis McDermott is a member of the faculty in the Department of English at Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. . . . Thomas R. Hall, formerly state director of the Illinois Historical Records Survey, is now in the Bureau of Information of the United States Government, Washington, D. C.

TABLE OF CONTENTS ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

OUR NATIONAL IGNORANCE: AN EDITORIAL <i>Paul M. Angle</i>	213
GALESBURG: HOT-BED OF ABOLITIONISM <i>Hermann R. Muelder</i>	216
EARLY SETTLERS OF THE ROCK RIVER VALLEY <i>Clyde E. Buckingham</i>	236
ANTON C. HESING: THE RISE OF A CHICAGO BOSS <i>Peter H. Olden</i>	260
HISTORICAL NOTES <i>Ruth Ewers Haberkorn</i> , "The First Ordained Congregational Woman Minister in the United States".....	288
"As Others See Us".....	294
THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK.....	296
NEWS AND COMMENT.....	301
CONTRIBUTOR.....	314

ILLUSTRATIONS ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

ANTON C. HESING 268

MARY L. MORELAND 290

OUR NATIONAL IGNORANCE

An Editorial

EVERY now and then Americans discover that even educated Englishmen know almost nothing about the history of the United States. The Oxonian will be quite familiar with the history of the Peloponnesian War, and the conquests of Gustavus Adolphus will be well remembered, but he is likely to consider the American Revolution a minor episode in a world-wide struggle with the French. And beyond the Revolution, his knowledge extendeth not. The American is surprised, but he attributes the Englishman's historical blindness to the amazing insularity of the British, which, he tells himself, will always be beyond comprehension.

But before we become too complacent, it might be well for us to consider what our own colleges are doing about history—not English history, but the history of our own country. Two recent editorials, typical of many, reveal a situation of which we should be ashamed. The first appeared in the *Chicago Tribune*, June 25, 1942.

IGNORANCE OF AMERICA

A nation-wide survey shows that 82 per cent of the institutions of higher learning in the United States do not require the study of United States history for the undergraduate degree and that 72 per cent do not require United States history for admission. Fewer than 10 per cent of the total undergraduate bodies in the colleges and universities were enrolled in American history classes and only 8

per cent of the freshmen studied the subject, altho 30 per cent were enrolled in European or world history courses.

United States history is usually a required subject in the secondary schools, but any one looking back upon his high school studies will know that only the outline of American history can be presented in the course of a year's work. We hazard the guess that not one citizen in 10 can recall the subject of the Webster-Hayne debate, or give a concise account of such notable events in our history as the Dred Scott decision and the Missouri compromise.

No one can intelligently exercise his franchise or do his full duty as a citizen who has not a sound understanding of the history of his country. He must understand the causes that gave rise to independence, the development of our institutions and traditions, our republican evolution under the Constitution, and the ideas which have been shaped during more than a century and a half and which give constancy to our national life and purpose to our national existence.

If this country strays from the course so truly and clearly charted thru the generations, if its objectives get out of focus and the outlines of its free institutions become blurred, if alien sympathies and ideas divert us from belief in the perfectibility of our common life on our common soil, it will have been ignorance of America that permitted these things to come to pass.

The second editorial was published in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 28.

SOMETHING IS RADICALLY WRONG HERE

"American history must be so taught as to lay more emphasis on its principles of liberty, its democratic traditions and on the flaming words and heroic efforts of its leaders—Charles Warren, author of *The Supreme Court in United States History*."

But the fact is that American history, as it is taught in this country today, is chiefly a juvenile proposition. There are, to be sure, distinguished teachers of American history in higher education, yet relatively few students have any contact with the story of their country except as they meet it hurriedly in grade school.

This is established in a survey of the nation's colleges and universities by the New York Times. The Times inventory shows that 82 per cent of these institutions do not require the study of American history for a degree. Indeed, only 28 per cent of these institutions

even require high school American history, as a condition for admission. As a result, less than 10 per cent of university and college students study the history of the United States at the age when they are best equipped intellectually to appraise our national achievement and to see the need for devotion to American ideals.

If our educators cannot see what is wrong in this picture, laymen can. We are fighting a war to preserve the American way of life, and countless Americans do not know what their way of life is. If rhetoric is required of college students, why not American history? After all, what is more important in a self-governing land than that citizens shall be able to make current decisions intelligently in the light of their democratic traditions and history?

And what could do more to instill zeal to guard our heritage than to know what that heritage is?

No one mindful of this nation's welfare can disagree with these comments. It may be pointed out, however, that the editorial writers might have carried their argument a step further. The heritage of America is often most vividly exemplified in the surroundings one knows best—the community and the state in which he lives. History, like charity, should begin at home.

P. M. A.

GALESBURG: HOT-BED OF ABOLITIONISM

BY HERMANN R. MUELDER

THE chief city of the Abolitionists of this State," "the very hot-bed of abolitionism in Illinois," "the center of abolitiondom in this State"—these are phrases which Douglas newspapers applied to Galesburg at the time of the Lincoln-Douglas debate in 1858.¹ Generalizations from hostile critics are often far from reliable, but a comment from a friendly source made about the same time indicates that Galesburg's distinction was merited. A correspondent of the *Bloomington Pantagraph* in 1857 asserted that Galesburg had been to Illinois what Lawrence was then to Kansas, earning by its energetic anti-slavery agitation—when that had been extremely unpopular—the title of "Abolition Hole."² Whether such a reputation was deserved or not, its prevalence in several quarters warrants an investigation of the activities by which it was developed—a narration of the share of Galesburg in forming anti-slavery institutions up to 1850. By that date, for good or evil, the work was definitely underway, the first abolition organizations were giving way to other anti-slavery activities, and the performances of a single community

¹ St. Louis and Chicago papers quoted in Edwin E. Sparks, ed., *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858* (Illinois Historical Collections, III, Springfield, 1908), 376, 380, 382, 386.

² Quoted in the *Galesburg Free Democrat*, Sept. 16, 1857. Variants of this title from Peoria, Quincy, and Carthage respectively were: "the Abolition nest;" "nest of nigger thieves;" and "that moral old pest-hole." *Free Democrat*, Feb. 23, 1854, Nov. 27, 1856; Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln. The War Years* (New York, 1939), II: 412-13.

could only be incidental to a tragedy which was becoming national in its scene.

In fulfilling the institutional ideals of its founders Galesburg was one of the more successful Yankee colonies in Illinois. For two decades after the arrival of its first settlers in the spring of 1836 it was a rather tight little community, able to sustain within itself, despite encirclement by unsympathetic Hoosiers or Kentuckians, the glowing brands of reform brought from the home hearth that had been shared with such incendiaries as Theodore Dwight Weld and Gerrit Smith.³ The time-consuming, strength-exhausting work of planting a prairie village did not prevent these pioneers from organizing thoroughly and quickly for the anti-slavery cause. As a church, as women, as young men they did so; but the first formal enrolling with Abolitionists was the formation of a local society auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society.⁴ Furthermore, that same summer forty-four residents of the year old settlement, including eight trustees of the newly chartered Knox College, endorsed a call for establishment of a state anti-slavery society. This number was one-fifth of the signers, the second largest from one community.⁵

At the first annual meeting of the resulting Illinois Anti-Slavery Society, held in Farmington, Galesburg assumed a very prominent role, for the largest delega-

³ The former was a student at, the latter was a patron of Oneida Institute in Whitesborough, N. Y., cradle of the colony.

⁴ It was resolved to raise \$100 for the anti-slavery cause that year. Anti-slavery prayer meetings are casually mentioned in the fourth Galesburg entry of a diarist arriving early in the summer of 1837. *Log City Days. Two Narratives on the Settlement of Galesburg. The Diary of Jerusha Loomis Farnham. Sketch of Log City by Samuel Holyoke. Introduction by Earnest Elmo Calkins* (Galesburg, Ill., 1937), 39, 40; *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, June, 1839.

⁵ *Proceedings of the Ill. Anti-Slavery Society Convention Held at Upper Alton on the Twenty-Sixth, Twenty-Seventh, and Twenty-Eighth of October, 1837* (Alton Observer, Extra, Alton, 1838).

tion, one-fourth of the entire convention, came from Knox County, all of these with one or possibly two exceptions, persons identified with Galesburg.⁶ Their part in the convention's affairs was commensurate with their numbers. One of them, the Reverend John Waters, was chairman of the committee to present business, while one of his co-members was the Reverend John J. Miter of Knoxville, who in his antecedents and activities must be associated with the colony.⁷ Of the committee of three concerned with the matter of publishing the Illinois "black code," Miter was chairman, Nehemiah West of Galesburg serving with him. George Washington Gale, leader of the colony, in addition to membership on the committee for nominations, was given chairmanship of two other committees: the one to which was referred the problem of a press for the cause in Illinois, as well as the one which considered the proposal of a monument for the Reverend Elijah P. Lovejoy, martyred less than a year past. Gale was elected one of the seven vice-presidents of the state society, and some time before the next summer was appointed one of the six men on the board of managers.⁸

Before the next meeting of the state convention the Galesburg apostles did some valiant labor in their own

⁶ The records of the colony church, deposited in the Knox College Library, have been used throughout this study to check the identity of Galesburg residents.

⁷ Miter had been one of Gale's students in Oneida Institute in New York, and one of the Lane Rebels. His maintenance by the American Home Missionary Society in this part of Illinois was petitioned by Matthew Chambers, grocer of the colony, temporarily located in Knoxville. His good standing at that time in the Presbyterian Church was certified by George W. Gale, who acted as his counselor during Miter's Illinois residence. (Papers of Matthew Chambers in possession of Mrs. George Brainerd, Galesburg; E. P. Chambers, "Reminiscences of Early Days" (MS in Galesburg Public Library); Papers of the American Home Missionary Society (Hammond Library, Chicago Theological Seminary).

⁸ "Records of the Illinois State Anti-Slavery Society" (MS, Chicago Historical Society). Gale, as chairman, offered a resolution recommending a monument to Lovejoy. (Copy of resolution in Gale Papers, Knox College Library).

vineyard. Discussions of an autumn meeting of the Galesburg Anti-Slavery Society were rather fully reported in the *Peoria Register and Northwestern Gazetteer*, September 1, 1838, the editor of which was soon to join the crusade and to associate himself closely with the activities of the Yankee settlement.⁹ One disagreeable night that winter a group from Galesburg headed by William Holyoke drove the five miles to the county seat, Knoxville, and helped to organize the Knox County Anti-Slavery Society. The man chosen president, Matthew Chambers, was a Galesburg colony grocer whose store was temporarily located in Knoxville.¹⁰ Most of the members were Galesburg men. In March, Gale and Miter went to the seat of adjacent Warren County at Monmouth, where they addressed a meeting in behalf of the same cause. They were opposed by other speakers, and to avoid trouble the meeting to organize an anti-slavery society for this county was held during a recess over the supper hour.¹¹ These two societies and one other were the only auxiliary groups established during that fiscal year of the state organization. In fact, as of October, 1839, there were in all only eight such county societies.¹²

If the records of the annual conventions indicate real as well as formal leadership, then the Galesburgers were certainly the foremost in the state society from 1839 to 1842. At the second anniversary meeting in Quincy, September, 1839, all three of the working offices went to men associated with the colony: Gale, Miter, and

⁹ See *post*, n. 22.

¹⁰ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, June 28, 1839; Chas. W. Chapman & Co., pub., *History of Knox County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1878), 405.

¹¹ *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, June 28, 1839.

¹² Norman D. Harris, *History of Negro Servitude in Illinois* (Chicago, 1904), 128-30.

Chambers were chosen, respectively, secretary, corresponding secretary, and treasurer of the society.¹³ The same men were re-elected at the annual meeting in Princeton in 1840.¹⁴ Furthermore, Hiram Marsh of Galesburg was elected a vice-president, and seven other Knox County men,¹⁵ five at least from Galesburg, were put on the board of managers.¹⁶

The five year old village of Galesburg was itself host to the convention in 1841. Facilities of the community must have been stretched by the sixty-six outside delegates who joined the sixty-one from Knox County itself. Hiram Marsh of Galesburg presided, while Gale, Miter, Waters, and the pastor of the colony church, the Reverend Horatio Foote, were among the principal speakers and served collectively on seven committees. The sessions were held in the academy building of Knox College.¹⁷ The impression made by the settlement on the visitors is probably reflected by the friendly story of the convention published by the *Genius of Liberty* on June 19, 1841. The origin and development of the town were described, and the fact emphasized that officers and

¹³ "Records of the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society." The five Galesburg members were outnumbered only by those from the host county. Gale, Miter, and Thomas Simmons served, one or the other, on the committee to prepare business, on the committee to establish a state paper, and on the nominating committee. Gale read a paper on "Doctrines of Emancipation."

¹⁴ The minutes specifically refer to the election of Miter and Gale. No mention of an election of treasurer is made, but that Chambers continued in office is proved by two receipts found in his papers which are signed by him as treasurer of the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society, dated Aug. 5, 1841, and April 8, 1841 (Papers in possession of Mrs. George Brainerd, Galesburg). Chambers is referred to as treasurer up to June 11, 1841, in the *Western Citizen*, Aug. 5, 1842.

¹⁵ C. W. Gilbert, John Waters, Dr. James Bunce, William Holyoke, John Kendall, David Ashley, and Peter Westerfield.

¹⁶ Gale served on three committees, and Miter on two, each being chairman of one. C. W. Gilbert served with Gale on the committee of three regarding agencies.

¹⁷ E. P. Chambers, "Reminiscences of Early Days." Gale had five committee appointments, heading those on nominations and the state anti-slavery paper. His son, Selden, served on the select committee to consider the executive committee report. Nehemiah West was elected one of the vice-presidents.

teachers of the colony-college were “*not afraid* of losing custom by an open avowal of their anti-slavery principles, and acting in accordance with them.”

In 1842 the annual meeting convened in Chicago, the first session held outside west-central Illinois. At this time the Reverend Hiram H. Kellogg, who had come west to be first president of Knox College, took Gale's place as leading member of the Galesburg delegation.¹⁸ He must have made an excellent impression for he was elected one of the vice-presidents, and a few weeks later the call for a special meeting of the executive committee made particular notice of the fact that Kellogg was to be present.¹⁹ That committee, as announced on March 30, 1843, selected him to be the delegate of the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society in the World Anti-Slavery Convention at London, England, the following June. Sending such a delegate had been suggested by Gale at Farmington, to a convention for Peoria, Fulton, and Knox counties, and recommended by that body.²⁰

The main business of the Farmington assembly was discussion of the recent suppression by mob of an effort in Peoria to form a local anti-slavery society. The two-score Galesburg people not only comprised the largest visiting delegation, but also brought the major part of the program: a choir and the two most active participants in the proceedings, Kellogg and Gale. The secretary of the convention, moreover, was the Reverend Levi Spencer, a recent ministerial product of the Galesburg colony.²¹ A paper on “Free Discussion Suppressed

¹⁸ He served on two committees to which Gale was commonly appointed: business and press. There were nine other Knox County delegates, six from Galesburg. *Western Citizen*, Aug. 5, 1842.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 9, 1842.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, March 23, 1843.

²¹ A son-in-law of John G. West, one of the colonists, Spencer came to Galesburg

in Peoria'' was read by Samuel Davis, printer and publisher in Peoria, and head of a family shortly to become closely associated with Galesburg anti-slavery affairs and within half a dozen years to remove to that abolition nest.²² Gale used the opportunity of this conclave to describe the activities of the Knox committee which was handling the Border fugitive slave cases. The convention voted to bear the expenses of that committee's work.²³

As an attraction to subscribers, the *Western Citizen*, still in its first volume as the state anti-slavery periodical, announced in April, 1843, the publication of the correspondence of Kellogg as he journeyed to the world convention in London. For over a year his articles, thirty-eight in all, were given the leading place on the first page. They told of his receiving from Davis, in Peoria, copies of the pamphlet, *Free Discussion Suppressed in Peoria*, to distribute enroute. They told how he visited in Alton the spot where Lovejoy fell. They described how he and a traveling companion on an Ohio River boat worried the preacher who carried a

in 1839. He attended the Knox Academy while doing religious work in the Galesburg vicinity. The Knox Presbytery licensed him in 1841, and in July, 1842, he was ordained at Canton, President Kellogg of Knox College preaching the ordination sermon. Jonathan Blanchard, *Memoir of Rev. Levi Spencer* (Cincinnati, Ohio [1855]), 1-55.

²² Mary Brown Davis, his wife, had been a contributor to Illinois anti-slavery papers since 1839, but the first contribution by Samuel Davis seems to have been the article in the *Western Citizen*, Feb. 23, 1843, on the Peoria riot. In the fall of 1842 a son, Southwick, had enrolled at Knox College. That institution and the town were visited and described by the mother in June, 1843, in the same paper. On July 4, 1844, during an anti-slavery festival, the family visited Galesburg, the father giving an address, the son reading the Declaration of Independence. Mrs. Davis was at that time sharing leadership with Galesburg women in founding a state female anti-slavery society (see *post.*, p. 224). In May, 1846, the president of Knox College was a speaker and two Galesburg men officers in an anti-slavery meeting in Peoria which was broken up by rioters. In June, Southwick was graduated from Knox College. His brother had enrolled the preceding fall. When the father died in 1849, the family settled in Galesburg, where Southwick started a newspaper that year. *Western Citizen*, Feb. 23, June 22, 1843; July 25, 1844; June 3, 1846.

²³ *Ibid.*, March 16 and 23, 1843. These articles are by Kellogg.

slave with him, and how Kellogg led the argument for more decisive action against slaveholders in the New School Presbyterian Assembly; how he attended public worship in Philadelphia with a colored congregation, and how he boarded the *Great Western*.

Probably no member of the London Convention had come so far as the Illinois delegate. He identified himself to the assembly as a "thousand miles nearer the setting sun" than the delegate from Massachusetts, which was perhaps as accurate a geographic reference to the American frontier as his English auditors would quickly comprehend. By assignment he had the duty of delivering one of the longer formal addresses, his subject being "United States Prejudice Against Color." In this discussion he cited at some length the absence of the color line in the prairie colony from which he had come.²⁴

Kellogg's articles were commended by the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society at its sixth anniversary meeting in June, 1843.²⁵ For the second time it met in Chicago, which was becoming more and more prominent in the anti-slavery affairs of the state. The state society had, however, by now almost run its course. It had already fulfilled its mission of sustaining the despised and neglected cause until it had become a political and religious issue too large to avoid. The next annual meeting, at Jacksonville, was poorly attended, partly, it is true, because of bad roads and high water.²⁶ By 1846 the

²⁴ *Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, Called by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and Held in London from Tuesday, June 13th to Tuesday, June 20th* (London, 1843), 25-26, 266.

²⁵ *Western Citizen*, June 5, 1843. Four Galesburg delegates were present; Gale served on two committees and was elected a vice-president.

²⁶ "Records of the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society." Gale was again one of the vice-presidents, and Levi Spencer was appointed secretary.

society was reduced to such straits that the chief topic of discussion was its debts; no election of officers was held.²⁷ Nothing permanent seems to have come of the organization of a new state society in 1851.²⁸

II.

Before turning to the emergence of anti-slavery political organizations, which were absorbing the talents and energies of many agitators by the late forties, one more manifestation of the intensity of the anti-slavery impulse in Galesburg should be described. It is the State Female Anti-Slavery Society, organized by forty-five women at Peoria, May 23, 1844, under the presidency of Mrs. Kellogg, wife of the head of Knox College. The secretary, Mary Brown Davis, wife of the Peoria newspaper man whose connections with the Galesburg group have already been noted,²⁹ seems to have been the most constantly active figure in this organization. Next to Madame Kellogg and Madame Davis, the two women most prominent in the proceedings were Mrs. Moses Pettingil of Peoria and Mrs. Nehemiah Losey, wife of a Knox College professor.³⁰

As an immediate undertaking this new state society resolved to educate colored children "at Galesburg or any other place where opportunity may offer."³¹ Two months later they announced: "The Galesburg school is open for education of colored youth, and we wish to get a number of youth of both sexes under the influence

²⁷ *Western Citizen*, June 10, 1846.

²⁸ *Western Citizen*, Jan. 21, 1851. Of the twenty-five vice-presidents for as many counties, President Jonathan Blanchard of Knox College was selected for Knox County.

²⁹ *Ante.*, p. 222.

³⁰ *Western Citizen*, April 25, May 23, and June 20, 1844. Local female societies had been organized in Peoria and Galesburg the previous summer. The call for the convention was written by Mrs. Davis. *Ibid.*, Aug. 17, 1843, May 16, 1844.

³¹ *Ibid.*, June 20, 1844.

of that institution as soon as may be."³² A long letter in the *Western Citizen*, addressed to the managers of the Illinois Female Anti-Slavery Society late in the summer, was concerned with this project of entering students in the Galesburg school, beginning that fall.³³ How much actually came of this scheme is not known. The last reference to it indicates that during 1845 two applications from Galesburg to educate colored children were actually on hand but could not be granted because of lack of funds in the treasury of the state society.³⁴

Meetings of the State Female Anti-Slavery Society were held at Alton in 1845, and at Princeton, Chicago, and Granville in 1846,³⁵ but no particular enterprise is again apparent until the special female meeting held in Farmington with Mrs. Davis as moderator, and Mary Blanchard, wife of the second president of Knox College, as secretary. As described by the latter, this body of women undertook a mammoth, state-wide petition against the "black code" of the commonwealth. Mrs. Blanchard was Mrs. Davis' chief assistant in carrying out the project.³⁶ Despite all their efforts the petition when presented had less than six hundred signatures. This may have been indicative of only feeble female opinions on the matter, but it may also be ascribed to the unpopularity of actions suggestive of feminism.³⁷

³² *Western Citizen*, Aug. 8, 1844.

³³ Sept. 5, 1844.

³⁴ June 10, 1846.

³⁵ At the Princeton meeting only representatives from the Putnam County and "Galesburg or Knox" organizations were present. Mrs. Kellogg was elected one of four vice-presidents at the Chicago meeting. *Western Citizen*, June 10 and Aug. 11, 1846. The last meeting to which the author has found reference was held in Chicago, March 14, 1848. *Ibid.*, March 21, 1848.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Aug. 3, Aug. 24, 1847; Nov. 28, 1848.

³⁷ That the latter was a factor is suggested by the conclusion. Mrs. Davis' last article, petition in *Ibid.*, Feb. 27, 1849.

III.

William Holyoke of Galesburg was president of the meeting in Princeton which for the first time in the Northwest adopted an anti-slavery electoral ticket for president of the United States.³⁸ This was done immediately following the annual meeting of the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society on July 3 and 4, 1840. Many of the members of that organization were not yet ready to be committed to political action; therefore a separate session was held. It was resolved that the abolition of slavery, which was undermining civil and religious liberty, should be brought about by law, not by blood, though it meant sacrifice of time and money. The candidates of the two regular parties were declared unworthy of support. Instead, two men already set up in the East by the new Liberty Party were endorsed. These were: for president and vice president, James G. Birney and Thomas Earle.³⁹ With Birney, Holyoke was undoubtedly personally acquainted, for the latter had until his coming to Galesburg in 1837 been one of the coterie of Cincinnati abolitionists through whom Birney made many of his early northern contacts. Holyoke was one of the three founders of the anti-slavery church of which Birney was a member and regular attendant during his residence in Cincinnati from 1835 to 1838.⁴⁰

In Galesburg, as elsewhere, certain anti-slavery men did not approve use of political tactics. For example, Hiram Marsh, though just elected a vice-president of

³⁸ *Peoria Register and North-Western Gazetteer*, July 17, 1840; T. C. Smith, *The Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest* (New York, 1897), 42.

³⁹ *Peoria Register and North-Western Gazetteer*, July 17, 1840.

⁴⁰ Samuel Holyoke, "A Historical Sketch," *Republican Register* [Galesburg], July 7, 1911; William Birney, *James G. Birney and his Times* (New York, 1890), 206, 241. Holyoke left Cincinnati in 1837. He was one of the five presidential electors for the Liberty ticket in 1840.

the state anti-slavery society, was among those in the settlement who preferred the Whig to the Liberty ticket. On the other hand the pastor of the colony church, the Reverend Horatio Foote, made a stirring campaign speech in favor of Birney and Earle. Finally a willful twelve from the colony did vote with the Liberty Party. That was still a good fraction of the 160 votes for the entire state.⁴¹

For some years it was to remain true that practically all the Liberty votes in Knox County came from the town of Galesburg. Yet only Adams and Will counties had exceeded Knox in 1840 in the number and only Putnam in the percentage of its Liberty ballots. The last named county, it should be noted, was farther north. This geographic factor affected the vote, for generally speaking the southern half of the state was preponderantly settled by immigrants from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia, and if not pro-slavery in sentiment was extremely hostile to abolitionism. Not the least important fact about the Galesburg colony was that it served as an anti-slavery outpost along with Quincy in the middle latitudes of the state. For the first decade (and longer) of its existence, Galesburg was very much an abolitionist intruder in a county with Kentuckian or Hoosier population. Among the latter were some who positively hated "that abolition village," and who with their threats actually frightened some of their Yankee neighbors.⁴² Those few in Knox County outside Galesburg who wanted to vote anti-slavery found it advis-

⁴¹ Chapman, pub., *Knox County*, 406. There were thirteen in all from the county; T. C. Pease, ed., *Illinois Election Returns 1818-1848* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XVIII, Springfield, 1923), 118.

⁴² Scrap Book No. 2, Galesburg Public Library. An unidentified "Reminiscence" the credibility of which is sustained by internal evidence.

able to go to Galesburg to do so. At the town of Henderson, just north of the Yankee settlement, an election judge once shook his fist in the faces of abolitionists and declared that they could not vote for their candidates in that place.⁴³

The pitifully small Liberty vote in Illinois in 1840 was of course a disappointment to the party's protagonists. One correspondent of the *Genius of Liberty* expressed particular regret that a town so outspokenly anti-slavery and so full of abolitionists as Galesburg had not done better in the late campaign. Gale, however, wrote to that paper the next month (the March succeeding the presidential poll) that it was now clearer to abolitionists that they must use the ballot for the cause.⁴⁴

Furthermore, it was Galesburg which took the lead that summer in carrying on the activities of the Liberty Party by running a man for Congress. There had been no Liberty candidates in the state in 1840 except electors for president and vice-president. Of the three congressional districts in 1841, only the third had a Liberty candidate in the field. Because it had been a decade since the rapidly growing state had been re-divided, this third district comprised fifty-four counties covering all that half of the state north and west of a line following the general course of the Illinois River and one to two counties deep on the lower side of it. The Liberty Party nominee for this large tract was chosen by a convention held in Galesburg on June 10, 1841, with two men of that same town, Nehemiah West and Levi Spencer, acting as president and secretary of the meeting.⁴⁵

⁴³ Chapman, pub., *Knox County*, 404-405.

⁴⁴ Feb. 9 and March 6, 1841.

⁴⁵ *Genius of Liberty*, June 19, 1841.

The vote for the nominee, Frederick Collins, of Adams County, was a gratifying threefold increase over the entire state vote the year previous, and sufficient to be a balance of ballots between Whigs and Democrats in the district. It awakened interest in the northern part of the state where the more general presence of Yankee settlers made for hope of more effective political activity in the future.⁴⁶ Knox County gave the candidate fifty-seven of its votes, which was five per cent of its total, a proportion exceeded only by two counties of the district farther north.

The party's activities were extended the next year by running candidates for governor and for the General Assembly. On May 27, 1842, a state convention was held with seven Knox County delegates present, four of them from Galesburg, including the president of Knox College, H. H. Kellogg, who served on two of the five committees.⁴⁷ During the summer Knox and ten other counties also held conventions.⁴⁸ William Holyoke and Eli Farnham, both of Galesburg, were chairman and secretary respectively of the Knox County gathering.⁴⁹ In the campaign the vote for governor not only almost doubled the last Liberty total in the state, but the local candidates, run for the first time, also received many votes. There were Liberty aspirants for state senator in five counties of as many districts, and candidates for the lower house in thirteen counties. Matthew Chambers of the colony, who ran for the state senate, received

⁴⁶ There were 492 votes. Pease, ed., *Ill. Election Returns*, 123; Harris, *Negro Servitude in Illinois*, 148.

⁴⁷ *Western Citizen*, July 26, 1842.

⁴⁸ Harris, *Negro Servitude in Illinois*, 150.

⁴⁹ See *Peoria Register and North-Western Gazetteer*, June 17, 1842, for Holyoke's address to the convention and the resolutions adopted.

eighty-seven votes from Knox County,⁵⁰ the largest Liberty vote in the state for this office. The county also cast ninety-four votes for its Liberty representative in the lower house, only Adams County doing better for its nominee. The same was true of the vote for governor.⁵¹

Reapportionment increased the Illinois congressional districts in 1843 to seven, four of which had Liberty candidates. Galesburg was now in the sixth district, which ran two or three counties deep from the Wisconsin line along the Mississippi River to its westernmost bulge about half way down the length of the state. Matthew Chambers of the Galesburg colony was the candidate. Of the sixteen counties involved both Ogle and Winnebago gave him more votes than his own. This was indicative of the rising Liberty tide in the northern part of the state, as well as the increasing population of that area. In this and the other two congressional elections of the middle forties it was the district comprising the northeastern counties that had the largest number of anti-slavery votes, the sixth district always running a poor second.⁵² This shift to the north in general and to the northeast in particular corresponds with the previously noted growth of Chicago's importance in other abolitionist activities.⁵³ As the ranks of Liberty filled (they reached almost 3,500 in the presidential vote in 1844), the numbers of the Yankee company in Knox County became less important, though their leaders remained important in the anti-slavery

⁵⁰ Holyoke and Kellogg also got one vote each.

⁵¹ Pease, ed., *Ill. Election Returns*, 126-29, 349-79. Putnam and Bureau counties alone exceeded Knox in the percentage of its vote for the gubernatorial candidate.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 135-59.

⁵³ *Ante.*, p. 223.

movement for several years.⁵⁴

How extensively the Galesburg settlers were now persuaded of the necessity for voting their anti-slavery principles is revealed in a boast to James G. Birney by President Kellogg in the spring of 1843 that "our precinct casts more votes for liberty than both the other parties united."⁵⁵ So effective had been the work of the Liberty Party that it was necessary in 1843 to reorganize the Whig remnants in the settlement, most of that affiliation having gone in for anti-slavery politics. Liberty men had come to be so largely in the majority and "had all of the talk their own way" that good old line Whigs felt greatly frustrated. As for Democrats, they were hardly to be looked for in this community.⁵⁶

The president of the state Liberty convention early in 1844 was the Reverend John Cross, notorious operator of the Underground Railroad in Peoria, Knox, and Bureau counties. At the time he and a number of Galesburg abolitionists, including Gale, were under indictment in Knox County for harboring fugitive slaves. The affair was attracting publicity which made Cross widely known. One of the Galesburg men involved in the liti-

⁵⁴ Leaders of the Liberty Party set out in 1843 on a plan of replacing the local anti-slavery societies by "Liberty associations" which should be used as centers of party work. The first of these, organized in Chicago in Oct., 1843, served as a model for the rest. Members agreed not to vote for anyone not committed to anti-slavery principles. One of the fourteen organizations formed on this basis during the next three years was composed of Galesburg abolitionists (Harris, *Negro Servitude in Illinois*, 152-53). It was probably organized late in 1843, Nehemiah West acting as chairman of the meeting, and Eli Farnham as secretary. Matthew Chambers and Leonard Chappel were elected president and secretary, respectively. The other signers of the pledge were: John Waters, A. S. Bergen, S. Williams, Innes Grant, A. Neely, S. Tompkins, F. Leonard, R. C. Dunn, G. A. Marsh, R. Paine, and A. V. Penoyer (Mary Allen West, "How Galesburg Grew;" MS dated May 23, 1873, in Galesburg Public Library).

⁵⁵ H. H. Kellogg to James G. Birney, April 5, 1843. Dwight L. Dumond, ed., *Letters of James Gillespie Birney, 1831-1857* (New York, 1938), II: 729-30. In this letter Kellogg begs Birney not to decline the presidential nomination of the Liberty Party for 1844.

⁵⁶ William Selden Gale, "Autobiography (MS, Knox College Library); George Churchill, "Galesburg History," *Republican Register*, July 29, 1876.

gation, A. S. Bergen, was chairman of the sixth congressional district Liberty convention, where he also served with Sherman Williams of Galesburg on the nominating committee. John Cross was selected as the congressional candidate.⁵⁷ Innes Grant, professor of Ancient Languages at Knox College, was appointed to serve as the corresponding member for Knox County on the central committee. He was probably also the candidate for representative in the General Assembly.⁵⁸ The expansion of Liberty Party organization by this time is revealed by votes in seventeen counties for Liberty representatives in the lower house of the General Assembly.

The congressional and legislative poll of August was followed in November by a presidential election in which Nehemiah West of Galesburg was one of the nine Liberty electoral college candidates.⁵⁹ Only Cook, Kane, Will, and DuPage counties in the extreme northeast corner of the state exceeded the Knox County Liberty vote.

In 1845 and 1846 the arrival of two new officers for the colony supplied fresh leadership for the Liberty Party. One was a son-in-law of William Holyoke, the Reverend Lucius H. Parker, who served for a time as pastor of the colony church; the other was the Reverend Jonathan Blanchard who came early in 1846 to assume

⁵⁷ Knox County Circuit Court Records, Book I, June 14, 1841-May 16, 1849. *Western Citizen*, Sept. 16, Oct. 7, Dec. 23, 1842; March 23, May 25, July 6, 1843; April 24, May 9, 16, 23, July 18, 1844; Chapman, pub., *Knox County*, 205-13; N. Matson, *Reminiscences of Bureau County* (Princeton, Ill., 1872), Part Second, 364-68; *Western Citizen*, June 6, 1844. The place of meeting was Lyndon, Whiteside County.

⁵⁸ Pease., ed., *Ill. Election Returns*, 391, lists a James Grant as a candidate with no affiliation. Innes Grant, however, was also known as James Grant, according to account books of G. W. Gale, and also the diary of O. H. Browning. The Edward Hollister listed as a third candidate in the district shared with Mercer County very likely was the man of the same name who was pastor at that time of the colony church.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 151; *Western Citizen*, Nov. 16, 1843.

his responsibilities as second president of Knox College. Both of these men, like their clerical colleagues of Presbyterian and Congregational connections, acted contrary to the widely prevailing taboo against men of the cloth participating in politics. Blanchard almost immediately involved himself in the affairs of the Liberty Party in Illinois.⁶⁰ In fact he issued within a few weeks of his arrival a vigorous apology for his or any other clergyman's doing so. He conceded that the pulpit should never be partisan in its position on "mere political questions as of boundaries, banks, and tariffs" lest the preacher behind the desk become an "unwelcome messenger," but he declared that because slavery threatened the very foundations of free government, action against it was a religious no less than a civil duty. This opinion was part of his endorsement of the call for another Liberty convention for the sixth congressional district—a call which the *Western Citizen* used as a leading article on May 26, 1846. That spring he addressed a Liberty meeting at Knoxville for two hours. Gale and Parker also spoke. How much Knox County Liberty politics was still Galesburg in content is further suggested by the fact that at this meeting Sylvanus Ferris and Eli Farnham were two of four vice-presidents, that A. S. Bergen acted as secretary, and that Nehemiah West was nominated for the state senate.⁶¹

Other Galesburg contributions, beyond the county, may also be noted in this campaign. Parker was prominent in the state convention held in Princeton, being elected a vice-president and serving on the nomination

⁶⁰ On February 21, 1846, he spoke at a Liberty convention in the Galesburg vicinity. *Western Citizen*, March 11, 1846.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, April 22, 1846.

and business committees. Blanchard made the leading address and Parker served on the business committee of a large campaign meeting in Farmington.⁶²

The number of counties with Liberty men receiving votes for the lower house in 1846 expanded to twenty-six. The total Liberty votes had got beyond 5,000, in five congressional districts. Though a small fraction of the 80,000 total in those areas, this number represented a potential nuisance to politicians of the major parties, a fact which must have added zest to the zeal in stimulating the anti-slavery men. This had been particularly true in the districts to which Galesburg belonged, for two of the last four congressional elections had been lost to one of the old line parties by a margin less than the ballots going to the anti-slavery candidate. In Knox County itself that had been true of three of the last four congressional elections.

The formation of the Free Soil Party in 1848 strengthened the political phase of the anti-slavery crusade, however it may have diluted somewhat its moral intensity. To the Buffalo convention which organized the newer and bigger Free Soil Party, the Illinois Liberty Party sent Parker of Galesburg as one of nine delegates. And it was fitting recognition of the share of the Yankee town in forcing the anti-slavery issue on the public mind that one of the nine Free Soil electoral college nominees was Blanchard.

As the latter looked over his college board of trustees he could see six men who among them had held the following places in the Liberty Party: chairman of the first two Liberty conventions in the state, a presidential

⁶² *Western Citizen*, June 3, 1846 and July 27, 1847. Levi Spencer was also a vice-president.

elector candidate in 1840 and one for 1844; two vice-presidents of state conventions, in 1842 and 1846; a candidate for Congress; two candidates for the state senate; five presidents, or vice-presidents, or secretaries of district and county party organizations. On his faculty had been a Liberty candidate for the lower house in the General Assembly. Nor did this include Spencer, Bergen, and Parker, prominent men in the college colony who had also played leading roles in the Liberty Party. What makes this catalogue of party chores significant is that they were all done by men from a single village which in 1850 had not yet reached 900 souls.

During the fifties President Blanchard gave his town and college national notoriety through his vehement agitation for ecclesiastical sectionalism, but in the civil sphere there appeared no Galesburg politician who exploited the widening popularity of anti-slavery principles. The town remained loyal, but even with a substantial increase in population its numbers were of course relatively insignificant in the extensive Republican polls of 1856 and 1860. Its alleged reputation at the time of the Lincoln-Douglas debates as the particular stronghold of abolitionism in Illinois must have been largely a remainder of the forties, especially of the years between 1838 and 1843, when in all phases of abolition activity in the commonwealth it seems to have had the leading position.

EARLY SETTLERS OF THE ROCK RIVER VALLEY

BY CLYDE E. BUCKINGHAM

THE poet has written of a land where:

The river, bending in unbroken grace,
The stately thickets, with their pathways green,
Fair lonely trees, each in its fittest place.

.....
The gentlest breezes there delight to blow,
The sun and shower and star are emulous to deck the show.

When Margaret Fuller thus described the Rock River Country in her poem "The Western Eden," she wrote of broad rolling prairies and of stately groves of oak and white maple, of walnut and sycamore, of basswood and of elm. She wrote of a land of clear springs and silvery brooks where the beautiful Rock River flowed unsullied by waste from factory or farm. She wrote of a land where from earliest spring the prairies were gorgeously decked with a constant succession of bright prairie flowers. She wrote of an Eden where streams teemed with fish and the timber was the home of the partridge, the prairie chicken, the wild turkey, the 'coon, the deer, the wildcat and the wolf. It was the land of Black Hawk and of red warriors who clung tenaciously to their hunting and fishing grounds until driven beyond the Father of Waters by the guns of the white man.

In the 1820's Illinois had just arrived at statehood. Coming from the South, emigrants had settled along

rivers and creeks as far north as Peoria. But few settlements had been made anywhere in the wide open prairies. The northern third of the state, the whole extent of the Rock River and Fox River valleys, was still a wilderness inhabited by hostile Indians.

Mining had been undertaken under both the French and Spanish governments along the upper Mississippi. With the discovery of the famous "Buck Lead" vein at Galena in the early twenties stories began to circulate in southern Illinois of fabulous fortunes suddenly acquired in the Northwest. Men who had been content to raise corn for ten cents a bushel, wheat for twenty-five and beef and pork for a dollar a hundred, suddenly lost all interest in farming and left for the mines. These early prospectors followed the Mississippi to Galena.

The whole earth, north, east, and south of Galena was covered with people, prospecting, digging, and looking for lead ore, in all the various manners and modes the mineral could be discovered, and raised out of the earth. It seemed the people were literally crazy, and rushed to the mines with the same blind energy and speed, that a people would in a panic flee from death. The learned professions laid down science, and took up the pick to delve in the bowels of the earth for the ore. Merchants, clerks, farmers and all classes repaired to the mines, thinking each one would be the fortunate mortal, who would return in a few weeks with a princely fortune.¹

When John Reynolds visited Galena in 1829, he found that people from all corners of the earth had been attracted to the celebrated lead mines and that every state in the Union was represented. The Irish and French were most numerous among the Europeans and southern Illinois furnished most of the native-born. Here residents of Illinois were called "suckers" for the first time, the appellation being explained as follows:

¹ John Reynolds, *My Own Times* (Chicago, 1879), 169.

The sucker fish ascend and descend the rivers at stated periods, which, from the best information I can obtain, gave the name of "suckers" to the people of Illinois; as those people ascended the river to Galena in shoals in the spring and descended in the fall.²

In the spring of 1827, O. W. Kellogg with three wagons and a drove of cattle went directly north from Peoria to Rock River and on to Galena, a distance of 160 miles.³ This route through the wilderness, soon to become famous as the Kellogg Trail, became the popular route to the mines at Galena. Soon droves of cattle, emigrant and mining wagons were passing over the route, making it one of the great thoroughfares of the West. At the Rock River, contents of the wagons were placed in canoes and carried across the stream, then each wagon—in two canoes, lashed side by side—was transported to the other side. Elisha Doty, later a resident of Polo, years afterwards reported that in 1827 there were 200 teams waiting at the Indian Ferry to cross and that an average of five to twenty teams crossed daily, going northward in May and June and southward in September and October.

Kellogg's Trail being through Indian country, the Indians always demanded a toll for the privilege of allowing a herd of cattle to swim across the Rock River.

The price being agreed upon and paid in advance the Indians would take the management and divide the drove into three parts. After one third had crossed, another Indian would come up and say that he must be paid as it was his ferry. To this demand the owner was compelled to yield and another third was permitted to swim over. This done and a third Indian would come up with a demand similar to the second, which must also be complied with. When all were over, the Indians would then select the fattest ox,

² Reynolds, *My Own Times*, 170.

³ N. Matson, *Reminiscences of Bureau County* (Princeton, Ill., 1872), 291.

on the plea that it was their custom, shoot him and have a great feast.⁴

In 1828, John Dixon received a contract to carry the mail from Peoria to Galena. To secure passage of the mails over the Rock River he persuaded a French-Indian half-breed, Joseph Ogee, to establish a ferry. When this arrangement proved unsatisfactory because of Ogee's frequent intoxication, John Dixon bought out the ferry and in 1830 moved to his claim on the Rock River.

Along the Kellogg Trail isolated settlers now began to build their cabins. "For a number of years after this road was opened, only six cabins were built along its entire length, and these stood fifteen or twenty miles apart, so as to entertain travelers."⁵ Mrs. John H. Kinzie, travelling over the trail in 1830, described it as follows:

Not a broad highway, but a narrow path, deeply indented by the hoofs of the horses on which the Indians travel in single file. So deeply is it sunk in the sod which covers the prairies, that it is difficult, sometimes, to distinguish it at a distance of a few rods.⁶

At the Green River crossing "Dad" Joe Smith, in 1829, found a great expanse of mud and swamp. "There was no way of getting across, so Dad Joe made a raft, and put his wife's bed upon it, she being ill, and floated her and the children across, returning for his wagon; the horses swam across."⁷

In 1832 the Black Hawk War began. With few exceptions the settlers fled the country. The war was to terminate speedily with the militia driving Black Hawk and his warriors forever from the Rock River Country. In

⁴ *Peoria Register and North-Western Gazetteer*, June 22, 1839 (Peoria Public Library).

⁵ Matson, *Reminiscences of Bureau County*, 292.

⁶ Mrs. John H. Kinzie, *Waubun* (Chicago and New York, 1901), 113-14.

⁷ Mrs. Frank Coulter, "Biography of Dad Joe Smith," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4 (Jan., 1926), 975.

1833 the remaining Indians began leaving the country and continued to do so until the spring of '36 when the whole had removed. The chiefs and those who had intermarried with the Sauk and Foxes went to Iowa, and the others, constituting the larger portion, to the country north of the Wisconsin River.⁸

With the removal of the Indians the settling of the Rock River Valley began in earnest, most of the migration being from Kentucky or Tennessee and taking up claims in or near the groves. Charles Latrobe described these emigrants from the South moving to the Rock River Country at the conclusion of the Black Hawk War:

From Peoria to Galena the road leads over vast prairies, as yet very rarely broken by cultivation. . . . The farm houses generally lay on the edge of some rich piece of forested land, on the margin of one of the numerous creeks or rivers, and were usually built in the southern style . . . namely, two square log-apartments divided by a covered passage, while the kitchen premises lay without. The upper loft was almost always unfinished; and the floors covered with rough planks hewn by the axe. The furniture was necessarily scanty, comprising besides the beds in the corners, a table, a few tools or a bench, a chest or two containing the family clothing, and a shelf with a few papers and books. A few bottles of powerful medicine hung on one nail, and on another the trusty skin-pouch and powder horn, and a charger made of an alligator's tooth. One or two rifles were always to be seen in a dry corner. In these crowded apartments we were frequently obliged to stow ourselves away at night pell-mell with the family. . . . You may imagine a crowded area of twelve or fourteen feet square, furnishing the bed-chamber of as many people. In the corners the travellers were allowed to stow themselves away enveloped in their clothes and blanket-coats on the low plank erections which might pass for bedsteads. The floor at one end would be occupied by the driver, the squatter, and another, side by side under the same rug before the fire, and at the other extremity a huge flock sack, laid upon the planks, served as the family bed. The mother and eldest daughter would lie down on it at opposite ends, so that each other's feet and head would be in

⁸ *Peoria Register and North-Western Gazetteer*, June 22, 1839.

contact, were it not for the little children, whom, to the number of three or four, we have seen stowed in . . . "like mortar between the stones," to keep all tight.⁹

Here in the Rock River Country the southerner came farther north than anywhere else to colonize side by side with the later advancing Yankee. Thomas Ford described him as being the "poor white man" of the South who had fled to avoid slavery. This class of people were said to be "a very good, honest, kind, hospitable people, unambitious of wealth, and great lovers of ease and social enjoyment"¹⁰ although Ford stated that many northerners regarded this type of emigrant as "a long, lank, lean, lazy, and ignorant animal, but little in advance of the savage state; one who was content to squat in a log-cabin, with a large family of ill-fed and ill-clothed, idle, ignorant children."¹¹

This later point of view was held by Eliza W. Farnham, that artistocratic New Englander with the "great lady" complex:

His [the Sucker's] aspirations are equally stationary in the more important particular of educating his children. He "reckons" they should know how to write their names, and "allows it's a right smart thing to be able to read when you want to." He "expects" his sons may make stump speeches if they live; but he don't "calculate that books and the sciences will do as much good for a man in these matters as a handy use of the rifle." . . . As for teaching "that's one thing he allows the Yankees are just fit for;" he does not hesitate to confess, that they are a "power smarter" at that than the western boys. But they can't hold a rifle nor ride at wolf hunt with 'em; and he reckons, after all, these are the great tests of merit.

With all these peculiarities, and this ignorance of what is esteemed essential in a cultivated society, these people have strong

⁹ Charles Joseph Latrobe, *The Rambler in North America* (New York, 1835), II: 183-84.

¹⁰ Thomas Ford, *A History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1854), 280.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 281.

intellects, bold and vigorous ideas, and possess a vast fund of knowledge, drawn from sources with which a more artificial society is too little acquainted. They have an order of eloquence peculiar to themselves, rough, bold, and strong, and glowing with illustrations drawn from nature as they know her, and from other sources familiar to their minds.¹²

Mrs. Farnham, who lived near Peoria and made an extended visit to the Rock River Country in the late thirties, in writing of the morals of these southerners stated:

They are too magnanimous to be often mean, too free from avarice to be often dishonest. A little fraud or shrewd trick played upon a Yankee they consider a commendable evidence of superior sagacity; a thing to be exulted in rather than repented of. Their passion in trade is for the never-sufficiently-to-be-prized horse, and a considerable part of their petty litigation grows out of this class of transactions. Indolence is one of their worse vices; for it leads to many others. This, however, I am bound to say is confined to the male sex. . . . The male population may be pronounced unequivocally indolent. On a bright day they mount their horses and throng the little towns in the vicinity of their homes, drinking and trading horses until late in the evening. It is not extraordinary to see two or more come to blows before these festival days end.¹³

Peter Cartwright, famous circuit rider of early Illinois, himself a product of the frontier, was much more sympathetic in his description of the early pioneers of northwestern Illinois. After picturing a great district north of Quincy where new settlements were formed and forming, hard long rides, cabin parlors, straw beds, and bedsteads made out of barked saplings and puncheon bedcords, he described the settlers as follows:

The people were kind and clever, proverbially so; showing the real pioneer or frontier hospitality. The men were a hardy, industrious, enterprising, game catching, and Indian driving set of men.

¹² Eliza W. Farnham, *Life in Prairie Land* (New York, 1847), 330-31.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 334.

The women were also hardy; they would think no hardship of turning out and helping their husbands raise their cabins, if need be; they would mount a horse and trot ten or fifteen miles to meeting, or to see the sick and minister to them, and home again the same day.¹⁴

From the very first some Yankees had come to the Rock River Country to settle alongside the more numerous emigrants from the South. The news accounts of the Black Hawk War and Black Hawk's later triumphal tour of the East, after his short confinement in Fort Monroe, made him and the Rock River Country a topic of conversation throughout the East.

Levi Warner, writing to his nephew in the East on June 25, 1833, described the Rock River Country in this way:

The country is good and healthy. I should be highly gratified if some of you Green Mountain boys who have to toil, dig and sweat among the rocks and hills to gain sustenance in life . . . would take it in your heads to abandon those doleful sterile places of servitude calculated to wear out or destroy the youthful or most vigorous part of your lives allotted you to no other purpose but to keep you in poverty and want, depriving you of the means of accumulating property for your future benefit and enjoyment. . . . Penetrate between the vast region that lies between you and this place until you arrive at the desired haven, the flower of the World, the Garden of Eden, a land flowing with milk and honey.

Already I anticipate the time when Myriads of Green Mountain boys shall make their way to the land of Promise in order to locate themselves a residence where they may enjoy the pleasing satisfaction of reaping the benefits of their labor.

But to the point—this country far excells yours and happy are they who make the exchange.¹⁵

In the middle thirties a vast tide of new settlers began flowing into the Rock River Country. This wave of mi-

¹⁴ W. P. Strickland, ed., *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, the Backwoods Preacher* (New York, 1857), 326.

¹⁵ Levi Warner to nephew, Galena, June 25, 1833 (Levi Warner Papers, Public Library, Polo, Ill.).

gration was from the East, principally New York and New England states rather than from the South.

The older settlers did not look kindly upon this vast influx of people from the East. Many had never seen a genuine Yankee, but only "a skinning, trafficking, and tricky race of pedlers from New England, who much infested the West and South with tin ware, small assortments of merchandise, and wooden clocks; and they supposed that the whole of the New England people were like these specimens."¹⁶ All Yankees were regarded as close, miserly, dishonest, money-grabbers void of any of the kindlier or more generous attributes of human nature. In fact, the building of the canal from Lake Michigan to the Illinois River was opposed by some who feared that it would flood the state with Yankees.¹⁷ The Yankees were too difficult to assimilate when they settled among a people equally obstinate, as James Hall said in reviewing Peck's *Guide*: "The Yankees are not the best emigrants. . . . There can be no objection to their joining even the wild crusade to the mouth of the Columbia."¹⁸

The New Englanders moved westward by many routes. One of the most popular was by way of the Erie Canal and Great Lakes to Detroit. Some who were fortunate enough to secure accommodations then took the long water route through Lakes Huron and Michigan. Others travelled overland from Detroit through the wilderness of lower Michigan where there was little food for man or beast and the roads lay through swamps impassable but for the corduroy bridges made by plac-

¹⁶ Ford, *History of Illinois*, 280.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 281.

¹⁸ Edward L. Burchard "Early Trails and Tides of Travel in the Lead Mine and Blackhawk Country," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XVII, No. 4 (Jan., 1925), 599.

ing logs side by side on the soft mud. Those who could not afford to come even part of the way by water came with their prairie schooners by way of the Mohawk trail and the Genesee turnpike and then overland past Lake Erie to the West.

In the middle thirties the Rock River Country was rapidly being "filled in." Older settlers were selling out their claims to the newcomers at a handsome profit. The spirit of speculation was raging throughout the country:

It amounts almost to insanity. There are more towns and cities laid out in some parts of the West than there are log cabins. There is not a distance of six miles on Rock River but where there is a town laid out—regularly laid out with the streets all named and lots for sale. These lots are usually not more than 60 by 130 feet and sell at various prices from 20 to 1,000 dollars.¹⁹

The plans of these villages, accompanied by flaming advertisements, were posted at public places in the East.²⁰ The advertisements usually contained an exaggerated account of the advantages and prospects of the contemplated town and concluded with an invitation to all who wished to get advantageous situations for business or speculation to purchase immediately.

In July, 1836, a resident of Rockford, founded only two years previously, wrote: "Rock River possesses advantages which will give it rank among the most important in this portion of the west. . . . The inhabitants of this portion of the river are mostly from the

¹⁹ Dr. Oliver Everett to Miss Emily Everett, Dixon's Ferry, Ogle County, Ill., Sept. 8, 1836 (Letter in possession of Miss Grace Bryant, Princeton, Ill.).

²⁰ "Opposite this portion of the town [Dixon] is a beautiful plot of tableland, smooth as a summer lake, which its owner had converted into eastern capital and western promises, by consenting to divide it into town lots. He had paid liberally for an engraved map, on which the streets were adorned with trees, and the public grounds with churches and other lofty edifices. Neither the trees nor churches, however, seemed to have any very fair prospect of becoming distinguished elsewhere." Farnham, *Life in Prairie Land*, 300.

East—men of enterprise and intelligence.''²¹ From Galena, H. Newland wrote:

From Rock River to Prairie du Chien including both sides of the Mississippi there are already twenty thousand inhabitants; emigrants are flocking here by hundreds and we have no doubt that in two years there will be forty thousand souls. Within the last two years ten new villages have been laid off in lots in this district.²²

While from Bloomington on Rock River, twelve miles below Rockford, Lucius Reed wrote east appealing that a missionary be sent to the upper Rock River Country:

Two years since and there was scarcely a white inhabitant in this section of the country and now the land is nearly all taken up and a large portion of it actually settled by an industrious and enterprising class of inhabitants mostly from New England and New York and Pennsylvania and I trust that the manners and customs of those states will be established here.²³

TRAILS AND TRAVELLERS

As the Rock River Country became more settled travellers came attracted by tales of its beauty and romantic history. In the winter of 1834 Charles Fenno Hoffman journeyed northward along the Kellogg Trail:

As the calm clear sky of evening succeeded, our sleigh glided over the open plain at a rate which soon made the cabins behind us disappear in the distance; while four fleet horses . . . swiftly accomplished the short stage of twelve miles, and brought us to the room where we were to pass the night. . . . [On] one broad snow-covered plain . . . you could see the dark figure of a wolf for miles off, as it stood in relief against the white unbroken surface.

²¹ Israel Merrill to the Secretary of the American Home Missionary Society, July 16, 1836. (The A.H.M.S. Collection of Letters, Hammond Library, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.).

²² H. Newland to Absalom Peters, Galena, 1836 (A.H.M.S. Collection).

²³ Lucius Reed to American Home Missionary Society, Jan. 31, 1837 (A.H.M.S. Collection). "Rock River is the present attraction. Thither are flocking such hosts of immigrants, as must soon densely people the wild and beautiful tracts of country bordering that stream." A. D. Jones, *Illinois and the West* (Boston, 1838), 165-66.

The cabin which was to be his lodging for the night was:

A single room, miserably built of logs,—the interstices of which were so unskilfully filled up with mud that I could hear the night-wind whistling through them as we drove up to the door. . . . A hard-featured borderer, with long sandy hair flowing from under a cap of wolf-skin, and dressed in a bright green capote with an orange-coloured sash, sat smoking a pipe on the other side of the fireplace; while one foot dangled from the bed on which he had placed himself, and another rested on a Spanish saddle. . . . The frontiers-man, knocking the ashes from his tomahawk-pipe, passed me a flask of Ohio whiskey, which, after my cold ride, had all the virtue of Monongahela. Some coarse fried pork, with a bowl of stewed hominy, hot rolls, and wild honey, did not then come amiss, especially when backed up by a cup of capital coffee. . . .

The moon was still shining brightly above, as I sallied out an hour before dawn to wash in the snow, and finish in the open air the toilet commenced in the crowded shantee. Our sleigh, a low clumsy pine box on a pair of ox-runners, was soon after at the door, and covering up my extremities as well as I could in the wild-hay which filled the bottom . . . I wound my fur robe around my head to keep my face from freezing, and soon found myself gliding at a prodigious rate over the smooth prairie.²⁴

By 1837 three stage routes—from Chicago by way of Naperville, from Ottawa by way of Troy Grove, and from Peoria by way of Windsor and Princeton—all concentrated at Dixon and followed the old Kellogg Trail to Galena.²⁵ On one of these routes travelled the old "rockaway" stagecoach. The stagecoach itself swung on straps instead of being mounted on springs. The wheels were much like those of a lumber wagon. It was entered by doors on the side and had two seats running across the vehicle facing each other and would accommodate about six persons. Light was admitted through panes of glass in the door and in front near the

²⁴ [Charles F. Hoffman], *A Winter in the West* (New York, 1835), I: 290, 292-96.

²⁵ J. M. Peck, *A Gazetteer of Illinois* (Philadelphia, 1837), 191.

driver. Behind was a "boot" for trunks, a platform which could be raised or lowered. Trunks were also carried on top of the coach which had a railing to keep them from falling off. The stage driver was the official mail carrier. He tooted his horn when he came within forty rods of the station as a signal to the station master to have the post horses ready for a quick change. The fare from Dixon to Chicago was \$5.00.

One traveller on the Kellogg Trail in the summer of 1838 describes the route thus:

Our road through the timber was exceedingly rough and tiresome. *Road* it ought not to be called, *track* is a fitter name. Not a tree had been fallen, and every one went hither and thither among the trees, in search of a better path. . . . Large and deep holes, still filled with water, whose surface was thickly coated with green slime, continually obstructed our way. Into these were we occasionally obliged to plunge, much to our own annoyance, and that of our poor animals, who were ready to sink under the intense heat.²⁶

However, by the late thirties hotels were being built to take the place of those early isolated overcrowded cabins that had been the only accommodations in the early part of the decade. Not that these new hotels were any great improvement. The aristocratic Mrs. Farnham stopped at one such tavern in the Rock River Country.

The landlord was one of that class of people in whom all national and other distinctions are lost in the ineffaceable brand of villainy that is stamped upon them. One would never pause to inquire whether he were American, English, Irish, or Dutch. You felt conscious of the presence of a villain.

On leaving this stage tavern on the Rock River, Mrs. Farnham stated:

[The landlord's] bill . . . was about the same as one pays at the Astor House for the same length of time, and [I] told him that I

²⁶ A. D. Jones, *Illinois and the West* (Boston, 1838), 171.

never paid money more freely for any purpose than for leaving his house.²⁷

Mrs. Farnham declared that in the late thirties the Yankees were coming to the lower Rock River Country in such large numbers as to be crowding out the older settlers from the South, many of whom were now pulling up stakes and starting westward to shake the dust of the Yankee settlements from their feet. With no particular destination in mind they were pushing on, always toward the setting sun.

They love the anticipation of making a new home on the brow of the remote wilderness, and living there, with half the careless ease of the Indian and more than his happiness.²⁸

In spite of oft repeated expressions of her personal superiority to the pioneers and standards of livings which she found on the frontier, Mrs. Farnham was enchanted by the beauties of the Rock River Country:

The country, bordering on Rock River, in nearly its whole length, is one of the most beautiful that can be imagined. The stream itself is a clear and generally rapid current, running over ledges of lime rock or beds of fine gravel and sand. Its banks are beautifully diversified with grove and lawn, which sometimes form natural parks of many miles in extent. The trees of these lands are principally the white, black, and red oak, interspersed with the elm, hickory, and butternut in small numbers. There is rarely any undergrowth, unless it be of wild flowers, or fruit-bearing shrubs and vines. The blackberry is very abundant in some, and in others the mandrake is found in great profusion. The grass is of sparser growth among the trees than on the prairies, and the clean turf, spread beneath the lightly woven boughs, is a charming spectacle

²⁷ Farnham, *Life in Prairie Land*, 301, 308. Bishop Chase, writing in 1837, had the same opinion of these early taverns: "Near this point [Chicago] is a *tavern*;—would it were it one of temperance and Christian civility! 'Tis, alas! the reverse; like nearly all our western inns, *whiskey* and *swearing* are its prominent features. I had rather stop on the open prairie '*all alone*,' and feed my horses, and taste my scanty luncheon, than have the choicest comforts of a western tavern." Bishop [Philander] Chase's *Reminiscences* (2nd ed., Boston, 1848), II: 393.

²⁸ Farnham, *Life in Prairie Land*, 329.

to the eye, and still more tempting to feet that love to stray amid beautiful solitude. When I visited this region, it was in the heyday of nature. Midsummer among these cool copses, green lawns, and swift streams, is a joyous season, and if to these one adds a small cabin filled with the pleasantest friends, books and pictures, and surrounded with a few families of the choicest society [this would be] paradise.²⁹

RELIGION ON HORSEBACK

The strength of the nation lies beyond the Alleghany. The center of dominion is fast moving in that direction. The ruler of this country is growing up in the great valley: leave him without the gospel and he will be a ruffian giant who will regard neither the decencies of civilization nor the charities of religion. . . . When we place ourselves on the top of the Alleghanies, survey the immense valley beyond it and consider that the character of its eighty or one hundred million inhabitants a century hence will depend upon the direction and impulse given it now in its forming state; must not every Christian feel disposed to forgo every party consideration, and cordially unite with his fellow Christians to furnish them those means of intellectual and moral cultivation of which they now stand in need; and for which they are constantly sending us their importunate petitions. . . . And what we do, we must do quickly. The tide of emigration will not wait until we have settled every metaphysical point of theology and every canon of church government. While we are deliberating the mighty swell is rising higher and higher on the side of the mountains.³⁰

As the emigrants from the South moved into the Rock River Valley at the close of the Black Hawk War, Methodist, Baptist and Campbellite preachers came with them. These early circuit riders covered vast districts and undoubtedly were a tremendous influence for good. Yet the cause of religion did not thrive. Like the celebrated Peter Cartwright who was assigned to but did not serve in the Galena District the settlements were too widely scattered and the country too sparsely popu-

²⁹ Farnham, *Life in Prairie Land*, 284-85.

³⁰ Address of Rev. J. Van Vecten, Pastor of the Reformed Dutch Church, Schenectady, N. Y., *The Home Missionary*, June, 1829.

lated to permit the organization of thriving congregations. Dixon had been settled for six years but had no organized religious society until 1836 when the wife of the founder and two other ladies organized the first religious meeting in that community.³¹ Soon a Methodist class was organized and services held whenever itinerant ministers visited the community.

The following year Bishop Philander Chase visited Dixon's Ferry and held services in an upper room over the Bowen store. He spoke to a large congregation and noted the presence of "some respectable young men, living down Rock river. . . . Their influence, joined with that of some worthy inhabitants of the place, seemed to assume a permanent footing, could a missionary of our Church be fixed here."³² A week later he wrote that he saw no evidence of rioting or drunkenness and all the young men were on the side of temperance. In spite of these instances of early church services being held, organized religion was not widespread until the full tide of Yankee migration reached the valley. Mrs. Farnham, writing of the lower river in the late thirties, could say: "Few churches are sustained, and but little expenditure incurred for the support of religious institutions."³³

In September, 1836, a plea was sent to the American Home Missionary Society in New York for missionaries.

There are numerous destitute settlements in this region whose inhabitants are desirous of having preachers sent them. They are all increasing and a host of missionaries soon will be needed to

³¹ Rev. A. D. Field, *Memorials of Methodism in the Bounds of the Rock River Conference* (Cincinnati, 1886), 190 ff. Dixon, early in May, 1836, consisted of only three log houses and a blacksmith shop.

³² *Reminiscences*, II: 397.

³³ Farnham, *Life in Prairie Land*, 335. "The churches are poor and mostly females consequently can raise only about \$200.00 for Mr. G's support." L. C. Gilbert to Milton Badger concerning churches at Byron, Ogle County, Dec. 2, 1843 (A.H.M.S. Collection).

supply the wants of Rock River. Cannot your society send at least two men who may occupy some of the most important points on Rock River—say one at Rockford and the other at or near the mouth of Rock River.³⁴

This great society which was the institutionalized effort of the Congregational and Presbyterian churches of the East to send the gospel to their brethren who had moved to the frontier soon responded by sending several missionaries to the Rock River Country.

To the circuit riders already on the frontier these college trained missionaries with their written sermons were "hirelings" completely out of touch with the pioneers to whom they were to minister.³⁵ Peter Cartwright had only contempt for these young men:

They would come with a tolerable education, and a smattering knowledge of the old Calvinistic system of theology. They were generally tolerably well furnished with old manuscript sermons, that had been preached, or written, perhaps a hundred years before. Some of these sermons they had memorized, but in general they read them to the people. This way of reading sermons was out of fashion altogether in this Western world, and of course they produced no good effect among the people. The great mass of our Western people wanted a preacher that could mount a stump, a block, or old log, or stand in the bed of a wagon, and without note or manuscript, quote, expound, and apply the work of God to the hearts and consciences of the people. The result of the efforts of these Eastern preachers was not very flattering.³⁶

Yet this judgment of Peter Cartwright, based on the reactions of southern communities to Yankee preachers,

³⁴ Rev. E. H. Hazard to Absalom Peters, Sept. 29, 1836 (A.H.M.S. Collection).

³⁵ "The proportion of missionaries in the Valley who are really making an extensive impression upon the mind here is very small. A great many before they come here appear to imagine that just as soon as they get into the 'great Valley' they shall be like luminous bodies—whose very presence shall dispel the darkness from a large surrounding territory. But you know from experience that it is an exceedingly difficult place to gather and sustain a congregation. Western modes of thinking and feeling and speaking and acting are so diverse from those of New England that they present a serious obstacle to the usefulness of a Yankee." Theron Baldwin to Henry Herrick, Haddam, Conn., July 20, 1833 (A.H.M.S. Collection).

³⁶ Strickland, ed., *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright*, 358.

seems partially disproved by the influence for moral and social improvement of these missionaries in the Rock River Valley. In their monthly reports to the home office of their society these missionaries wrote of developing religious institutions but also left intimate pictures of the social and economic life on the frontier.

The difficulties under which they labored are suggested by a report of the missionary at Fulton in the winter of 1838:

During the last quarter I have been able to find the shell of a cabin into which we removed a few days since and tho very uncomfortable being only covered with clapboards and boards laid loosely for a floor, yet it is the best and only one we shall have for the winter. Sabbath before last was so cold that I froze my heels while preaching in my own house.

I do not wish to be understood as complaining for in the main I feel contented. It is true we have seen hard times since we have been in Illinois and times are hard for missionaries still. The early and unexpected closing of navigation has left this region of the country nearly destitute of all kinds of merchandise and many kinds of provisions. We are glad to get almost anything to eat and that by paying enormous prices.³⁷

These zealous evangelists brought with them not only institutions of church and school but also a New England conscience. After describing the many difficulties they encountered peculiar to a new country—the necessity of building houses, making farms, bridges, roads, the lack of ready cash and the long hours of toil necessary on a frontier home—the missionary would then write of the “moral desolation” prevalent in his community.³⁸ The Reverend R. N. Pearson, after stating that Grand Detour where he was stationed was the most

³⁷ John H. Prentis to Absalom Peters, Dec. 21, 1838 (A.H.M.S. Collection). Besides Fulton the Rev. Mr. Prentis included in his circuit, Albany, Union Grove (thirty families on Little Rock River) and Lyons on the Iowa side of the Mississippi.

³⁸ George Gimmel to Milton Badger, Buffalo Grove, Feb. 16, 1842 (A.H.M.S. Collection).

important place on the Rock River with the exception of Rockford because of its water power, described the members of his community:

[They are] generally intelligent, industrious but wicked. Many of them have lived through powerful revivals in the East and seem very much hardened. But a great cause for encouragement is found in the fact that many of them are the children of very pious parents whose prayers daily ascend to God in their behalf.³⁹

Later he wrote:

The enemy has been doing his best to ruin souls. The minds of young people are filled with balls and dancing and parties of pleasure. Others are in hot pursuit after riches and scruple not to use any means they can devise to accomplish their object.⁴⁰

To men reared in conservative New England the widespread irreligion of the frontier was appalling. Nathan Gould wrote to the Society in 1842 that "from Peru to Rock River the Sabbath is almost universally desecrated."⁴¹

The missionary found himself in competition with Universalists, Mormons, Dunkards, Campbellites, Unitarians, Deists, Perfectionists and Methodists.⁴² At Grand Detour for nearly a year a Universalist preacher proclaimed "Ye shall not surely die." The Reverend Mr. Gimmel wrote that this Universalist soon left the field—"God's truth was too strong for him."⁴³

³⁹ Rev. R. N. Pearson to Milton Badger, Grand Detour, Nov. 29, 1843 (A.H.M.S. Collection).

⁴⁰ Pearson to Badger, Dec. 11, 1847 (A.H.M.S. Collection).

⁴¹ Letter to Milton Badger, Troy Grove, April 9, 1842. "Outbreaking sins such as intemperance, Sabbath breaking, profane swearing and horse racing which had become alarmingly prevalent at the beginning of the year have received a powerful check." L. C. Gilbert to Milton Badger, Lee County, Ill., Dec. 18, 1843 (A.H.M.S. Collection).

⁴² George Gimmel to C. Hall, Buffalo Grove, 1843 (A.H.M.S. Collection).

⁴³ Gimmel to Hall, Aug. 9, 1843 (A.H.M.S. Collection).

TEMPERANCE

The missionaries made determined attacks on the evils which they found in their communities. With characteristic vigor they condemned the widespread evil of intoxication. The Reverend E. H. Hazard of Lyndon referred to God's judgment against all drunkards as seen by the fate of three men who had become intoxicated at another Rock River town, two of whom became lost on their way home, drove out into the open prairie "and perished beside their bottle;" the third one murdered an Indian in a most brutal manner and "fled the country to escape the hand of justice leaving an interesting family to lament not so much the loss as the disgrace and wretchedness of such a husband and father."

We have not to our knowledge a drunkard in our settlement [Lyndon] on this side of Rock River. No liquor is sold and there is a united and determined public sentiment against the introduction of a groggery in any shape. All lawful and proper means are to be used to prevent it. I believe our lecturer last evening spoke the general sentiment of our people when he said he would "dread less cholera in our settlement than a grogshop."⁴⁴

In 1840 the Reverend John Prinless could report slow progress being made in the cause of temperance. Yet he declared:

In the river towns there will be groceries [groggeries] and men to patronize them. Travellers in this county with very few exceptions patronize the bar. And from all the facts that I can collect on the subject I conclude that most of the *Temperance Men* who leave the east for the west leave their temperance principles behind. I know of a number of such professors of religion now keeping grogshops.⁴⁵

By 1842, the Reverend George Gimmel noted general

⁴⁴ Rev. E. H. Hazard to Secretary of A.H.M.S., Lyndon, June 16, 1839 (A.H.M.S. Collection).

⁴⁵ Rev. John Prinless to Milton Badger, Fulton, Feb., 1840 (A.H.M.S. Collection).

improvement throughout the Rock River Country in regard to temperance. At Elkhorn Grove there had formerly been only two men that did not drink, now there was a large temperance society. At Buffalo Grove there were 200 members in the temperance society, two taverns and one store had discontinued the sale of ardent spirits, and liquor could not be purchased. At Grand Detour a large society had been formed enlisting the influence of many of the leading men of the community at Dixon. At Oregon and other villages, similar temperance societies were formed with excellent results.

The marked effects of this movement cannot fail to be noticed by every person who knew anything of the places. We look to the temperance movement as the precursor of something more noble and in all places where there has been a general movement on this subject the change in the morals of the place is also marked by every observer. . . . Sabbath breaking and profanity cease to a great extent when men cease to drink.⁴⁶

However, the victory was not a quick or easy one. Many who had attended church regularly in the East forsook religion after arriving on the frontier and showed no disposition to join any church. Too frequently progress already made received serious setbacks when a popular and effective missionary moved to some other community.⁴⁷ Writing from Sterling in 1843 one missionary lamented:

⁴⁶ Rev. George Gimmel to Charles Hall, Buffalo Grove, May, 1842 (A.H.M.S. Collection). He also mentioned anti-swearing and anti-immoral societies at Oregon and an agreement among the residents of the village to go to "meeting" every Sabbath and if they could not obtain preaching they would appoint one of their number to read a sermon or lecture on some moral subject.

⁴⁷ "All the above societies have failed at Oregon and all but three of the people have violated their temperance pledge." Rev. Silas Jessup to Charles Hall, Oregon City, Nov., 1842. "I pained at the fact that we are almost destitute of a *settled ministry*, continual changes only to prepare the way for other changes." Rev. Robert Hicks's report on a tour through the Rock River Country, Oct. 31, 1843 (A.H.M.S. Collection).

Deep moral darkness seems still to envelope the great mass of this people. . . . Now and then a few Christians . . . the cause of Temperance is making headway.⁴⁸

ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT

Anti-slavery sentiments were oft expressed by these missionaries and many of them seem to have shared the opinions of the Lovejoys if they were not actively engaged in the cause. In the early forties sermons against slavery were being preached at Grand Detour, Byron and other points along the Rock River. Farther south in Illinois much antipathy against these men was caused by their attacks on slavery. Peter Cartwright believed that the problem would be solved without help from these young "hirelings" and felt that their utterances would only increase the difficulties which religion was already facing on the frontier. Typical was the situation at Byron when a layman wrote to the field agent of the Missionary Society stating:

I suppose the funds [of the missionary society] are here used more for the objects of the anti-slavery society than for their legitimate object. Rev. George Gimmel . . . preaches prays and holds meeting for that object. . . . Mr. Gimmel is considered a pious, well designed, feeble, little man yet is so engrossed with that fanatical scheme as to have become in a measure deranged. . . . The effects are to keep, I presume $\frac{3}{4}$ of the community from attending meeting [and to] prejudice the minds of a great proportion of those who do hear against the best institutions and the best men of our country and age.⁴⁹

In defense the Reverend Mr. Gimmel stated that he had never preached a "political" anti-slavery sermon

⁴⁸ L. C. Gilbert to Milton Badger, June 1, 1842 (A.H.M.S. Letters).

⁴⁹ T. P. Parker to Rev. S. Peet, Byron, Ill., Sept. 2, 1846 (A.H.M.S. Collection). Today a stone building still stands between Byron and Rockford which was used as one of the stations of the underground railway coming up from Princeton towards the Canadian border.

but had universally gone against it, speaking freely but not frequently on the subject. As for his accuser, T. P. Parker, that gentleman had taken the position that a minister should not mention the words slave or slavery and whenever these words were used he would get up and leave the congregation.⁵⁰

The influence of these anti-slavery preachers on the frontier was far-reaching in developing the growing opposition to slavery as an institution. A few short years and Illinois was to produce many of the great leaders that were to guide the Union through the great crisis. And when it was all over it was found that Illinois had contributed her share and more to the battlefields of that war.

And these preachers on horseback—Methodist, Baptists, Campbellites, American Home Missionary Society ministers—theirs was a zeal and a courage that brought religion and education and morality to a rough and ready frontier. A. D. Field quoted a frontier judge as stating:

Had it not been for these men with their saddle bags, on horseback, the West would have gone to Barbarism. But to these incipient communities the men on horseback went with authority from on high and opened their missions in the log cabins bringing back the settler to the Sabbath and Bible and religion of the older lands; and the genial power of religion has been felt in every city and village and community.⁵¹

CONCLUSION

If this picture of the Rock River Country in the thirties has been painted in too sombre colors—the night ever seems darkest just before dawn—then would that

⁵⁰ George Gimmel to Charles Hall and Milton Badger, Byron, Dec. 8, 1846 (A.H.M.S. Collection).

⁵¹ Field, *Memorials of Methodism*.

time might permit us to move on from the birthpangs of a pioneer community to the adolescent period of the forties and early fifties when the toil and labors of that first decade brought order, comfort and culture to the beautiful valley. We would see rough cabins abandoned as splendid frame houses took their places. We would see church spires rising and hear gaiety and laughter as genial friends gathered around the "Governor" at Hazelwood. We would see students studying the classics in higher institutions of learning. And then after long years of struggle we would see the iron horse coming to the valley bringing with him prosperity and comforts unknown a decade earlier. But until such time as a better pen than this may describe the emerging society of the railroad age let us say adieu to the valley with the words of Margaret Fuller:

Farewell ye soft and sumptuous solitudes!
Ye fairy distances, ye lordly woods,

.
I go,—and if I never more may steep
An eager heart in your enchantments deep,
Yet ever to itself that heart may say,
Be not exacting; thou hast lived one day;
Hast looked on that which matches with thy mood,

.
Once more farewell,—a sad, a sweet farewell;
And, if I never must behold you more,
In other worlds I will not cease to tell
The rosary I here have numbered o'er;
And bright-haired Hope will lend a gladdened ear,
And Love will free him from the grasp of Fear,
And Gorgon critics, while the tale they hear,
Shall dew their stony glances with a tear,
If I but catch one echo from your spell;—
And so farewell,—a grateful, sad farewell!

ANTON C. HESING

The Rise of a Chicago Boss

BY PETER H. OLDEN

I.

IN the 1860's and the first half of the 1870's the Germans of Chicago had a boss. The American citizens of German extraction then cast so large a percentage of the Republican vote both in Chicago and in Illinois that the G. O. P. could hardly hope to win an election without their support.¹ It follows logically that a strong leader disposing over a substantial part of the German vote in Chicago must have come close to ruling the Republican Party in city and state. That Anton Caspar Hesing (1823-1895) did just about that is borne out by the testimony of his contemporaries. One of them, in a book published in Chicago in 1868, tells of his wielding "an influence in local and State politics second to that of no other member of the Republican party of Illinois."² By others, some years later, he was described as "the 'Boss' of city and county politics"³ who "dictated nominations for Congress and appointed

¹ Donnal V. Smith has calculated that at least 68,500 foreign votes, most of which were German, were cast in the election of 1860. Lincoln carried Illinois by a plurality of less than 12,000 votes over Douglas. "The Influence of the Foreign-Born of the Northwest in the Election of 1860," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIX (Sept., 1932), 203. Compare also *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 30, 1860, "... the large German vote without which Republicanism in Chicago and in Illinois is powerless."

² Wilson & St. Clair, pub., *Biographical Sketches of the Leading Men of Chicago* (Chicago, 1868), 205.

³ *New York Staats-Zeitung*, Jan. 3, 1876.

members of the State Legislature."⁴ At the height of his career he was so prominent that a St. Louis German paper was under the impression that he had been written about "in the press of both languages" more than General Grant,⁵ who was then halfway through his second term as United States President! Those were the times when Hesing's very name was a household word and served as a battle cry in many a Chicago election,⁶ and when it must have seemed utterly impossible that it would ever be as completely forgotten as in fact it was very shortly after his death.

Of all who knew him in those days of power and glory only one has ever published his memories of the man. Edmund Deuss, a fellow-German and fellow-Chicagoan, though by no means a political partisan, thought it fit to compare him to Cleon the Tanner. He wrote:

Like Cleon, Hesing stemmed from the masses. Like Cleon he stood in the popular meeting, bulky and rugged, on massive legs, towering over his surroundings with broad shoulders and dominating the crowd more by the power of his lungs and the simplicity of his arguments than by oratorical skill.⁷

And very similarly, the *Chicago Tribune*, whose editor, Joseph Medill, had been a faithful friend for almost twenty years and a determined adversary for twenty more,⁸ described him in a not unfriendly obituary:

⁴ Blueford Wilson, quoted in the *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 2, 1876.

⁵ *St. Louis Courier*, quoted in *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, April 29, 1874. Gustave P. Koerner, best remembered of the German leaders in Illinois at that time, looked at Hesing with soberer eyes. He refers to him in his *Memoirs* (Cedar Rapids, 1909), II: 479, simply as "a leading Republican politician, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the State Central Committee, a man of unbounded energy, with a strong following of Germans and Americans."

⁶ Interview with Judge Theodore Brentano at Geneva, Ill., 1938.

⁷ Edmund Deuss, "Anton Caspar Hesing," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, XI (1911), 112.

⁸ On their long comradeship in politics see Medill's letter in the *Ill. Staats-Zeitung*, June 13, 1874.

He had less culture and polish than many [German-American contemporaries] . . . but he had a liking for and an innate knowledge of working politics, which is not usual among the Germans.

Mr. Hesing's strength lay in great part in the fact that he knew his countrymen thoroughly and sought to be always on that side which they favored. He followed them rather than led them.⁹

It may seem strange that in this particular period there should have been room for such leadership among the midwestern Germans. It was usually assumed in the last century that the Germans did not follow a boss in politics.¹⁰ And in the era of the forty-eighters they could boast a number of famed and fiery men in their ranks who might have been expected to furnish an abundance of political leadership. How then account for the extraordinary role that Hesing was permitted to play?

The answer lies very largely in the dramatic circumstances under which he made his entrance on the political stage in Chicago. More astonishing than his later pre-eminence is the fact that when Hesing ran for sheriff of Cook County in 1860 he received—at least in the last ten days of the campaign—more space in the *Chicago Tribune*, and had more of the limelight focused on his candidacy than either the head of his ticket, Abraham Lincoln, or the head of the only rival ticket that counted in Illinois, Stephen A. Douglas. The reason for that must be sought in the issue for which he stood, which must have been locally more powerful than either slavery or disunion.

II.

It is difficult for us today to visualize how altogether unpredictable the circumstances were in 1860 which

⁹ *Chicago Tribune*, April 1, 1895. This editorial also confirms the picture of Hesing as a sometimes too dictatorial "boss."

¹⁰ Frederick W. Holls, "The 'German Vote' and the Republican Party," *The Forum*, Jan., 1896, p. 591.

gave the United States presidency to a Republican. For not only were the Republicans a minority group and to all appearances destined to remain so, but their party was the heterogeneous product of a fusion of the "three great ferments of the fifties . . . anti-liquor, anti-foreign, anti-slavery."¹¹ As Professor Dodd has shown in a brilliant essay, they could hardly have hoped to win a national election without the "foreign,"¹² i. e. primarily the German vote, the Irish being in any case unobtainable.¹³ Yet the party was so identified with Know-Nothingism¹⁴ that Stephen A. Douglas was for a time under the impression that most of the Republicans had entered Know-Nothing lodges and that the alien issue would soon supersede the strife about the slavery question.¹⁵ While Douglas was of course indulging in wishful thinking, Horace Greeley on the other hand hardly exaggerated when he boasted that he had made temperance "second only in importance to 'the Nebraska fraud' "¹⁶ as a party issue. The Germans regarded the temperance drive as quite as much directed against

¹¹ George Fort Milton, *The Eve of Conflict* (Boston, 1934), 157.

¹² William E. Dodd, "The Fight for the Northwest, 1850," *American Historical Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 4 (July, 1911), 786. That Lincoln owed his election to the immigrant vote was first forcefully argued by John Peter Altgeld in "The Immigrant's Answer," *Forum*, Feb., 1890, pp. 684-96.

¹³ See *post*, n. 73.

¹⁴ One of the founders of the Republican Party in Indiana described it as "a combination . . . of conservative Whigs, anti-Nebraska Democrats, Know Nothings, and Free Soilers," George W. Julian, "The First Republican National Convention," *American Historical Review*, Vol. XIV, No. 2 (Jan., 1899), 313. On Know-Nothingism in the Republican Party of Wisconsin see Joseph Schafer, "Know Nothingism in Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (Sept., 1924). And for the same in Iowa see *post*, note 54.

¹⁵ J. Madison Cutts, *A Brief Treatise upon Constitutional and Party Questions* (New York, 1866), 121, and Arthur C. Cole, *The Era of the Civil War* (*Centennial History of Illinois*, III, Springfield, 1919), 138.

¹⁶ Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln* (Boston, 1928), II: 293n. When Illinois in 1855 voted on a Prohibition amendment to its constitution "the biggest vote for the law was cast in counties where the New York *Tribune* had widest circulation and where Republicans and Abolitionists were most numerous." *Ibid.*, 296n.

themselves as the Know-Nothing movement¹⁷ and hated it, if possible, more. The exiled intellectuals of '48 might quietly sneer at the "distinctive but not very advantageous old-country customs"¹⁸ of their countrymen and try to convince them of the surpassing importance of the anti-slavery crusade, yet the masses of the German-Americans did not budge from their traditional party allegiance down to the end of the fifties. Evidence for this and for the last minute shift that changed the picture and decided the election will be given later in this article.

We hear of the Illinois Germans refusing to vote for Lyman Trumbull in 1854, because they were "persuaded . . . that every anti-Nebraska man must necessarily be a Maine Law liquor man and a Know-Nothing."¹⁹ We hear of Carl Schurz in 1856 being pelted with rotten eggs in Watertown, Wisconsin, by people who called him "*ein verdammter Republikaner*."²⁰ Yet in 1855, the "*annus mirabilis*" of Nativism, Salmon P. Chase had shown how even a Republican might gather enough votes from the two opposite sides to win an election. Basing his campaign on the Nebraska question he ran for Governor of Ohio on an otherwise simon pure Know-Nothing ticket. The result of this piece of strategy was illuminating: he swept the state of Ohio with the sig-

¹⁷ Gustave Koerner, who at that time preferred to ignore the issue, later stated as his conviction "that the efforts of those who advocated prohibition, and . . . a puritanical keeping of the Sabbath, were almost exclusively directed against the Germans, and originated a good deal in Know-Nothingism," *Memoirs*, II:731. On Koerner see Evarts B. Greene, "Gustav Koerner," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, VII (1907), 80, and *Dictionary of American Biography*.

¹⁸ Chester V. Easum, *The Americanization of Carl Schurz* (Chicago, 1929), 113. F. I. Herriott has called attention to the problem that the political complications emphasized in this paper have found hardly any reflection in the memoirs of the German Republican leaders. Easum contributes something to the solution of this question, *ibid.*, 126.

¹⁹ Cole, *Era of the Civil War*, 137.

²⁰ Easum, *Americanization of Schurz*, 115.

nal exception of the city of Cincinnati. There, where close contact inflamed the antipathy between immigrants and "natives" the German wards went Democratic by unprecedented majorities, while in the others a Know-Nothing diehard triumphed on an "independent" slate.²¹

If we can show that the political situation in Chicago in 1860 was analogous to that in Cincinnati, then Hesing's sudden political prominence will no longer seem so enigmatic: by his race for office he was challenging the prejudice that had helped to wreck the Whigs and had been entrenched in the new party from the very start; during the campaign all the enemy fire concentrated on his nationality; by winning, in spite of it, he demonstrated that a German candidate in Chicago could deliver to the Republican Party enough anti-Know-Nothing votes to make good for that normally Republican vote that he would lose by being a foreigner; and from that moment on it was decided that the Republican Party in Illinois would have in future a German rather than a nativist tinge; and that Hesing would become a leader of it, all personal limitations notwithstanding.

III.

For the part he was to play in the election of 1860 Hesing had been conditioned through long and painful years. When he had left the old country in 1839 and made his way to Cincinnati—where he arrived \$5.00 in

²¹ Eugene H. Roseboom, "Salmon P. Chase and the Know-Nothings," *Miss. Val. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. XXV, No. 3 (Dec., 1938), 335-50. Another such case where the conflict between immigrants and nationalists evidently aroused the voters far more than the slavery question occurred in Wisconsin in 1857. Easum, *Americanization of Schurz*, 185-88, and F. I. Herriott, "The Conference in the Deutsches Haus, Chicago, May 14-15, 1860," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1928, 146.

debt and otherwise unencumbered by worldly possessions²²—German immigrants were expected to vote the Democratic ticket. He was then barely sixteen, and having been orphaned in childhood had received but a scanty education. Yet he was up to his neck in American politics before he could possibly have commanded much English. And, strangely enough, he had cast his lot with the party of money and privilege, the Whigs, traditional foes of the immigrant and the "Dutch." What it was that precipitated him into politics so quickly and then complicated his career beyond measure by making him start on the wrong side of the fence, we do not know. In any case, he was a member of the Whig committee for Hamilton County before he could vote, and soon afterwards was advanced to the State Central Committee.

For such preferment he had to pay a price: he later said that he had been persecuted with "bestial brutality" as a "Dutch renegade"²³ at that time. There may be a considerable remnant of truth in this exaggeration. "Even in 1850," an outstanding historian of his nationality group wrote, "it still was regarded by the German-Americans as heresy not to be a Democrat. To be called a Whig, or to be one, was in their eyes the worst accusation . . . it meant as much as being . . . a villain."²⁴ The experience cannot have failed to make him intensely conscious of his nationality; from then on it became the ruling passion of his life to prove himself a better German than his persecutors. When the hostile press in the heyday of his power referred to him as "Kaiser Hesing," as "Bismarck Hesing," the "sauer-

²² Alfred T. Andreas, *History of Chicago* (Chicago, 1885), II: 499.

²³ *Ill. Staats-Zeitung*, Jan. 23, 1872.

²⁴ Friedrich Kapp, *Aus und uber Amerika* (Leipzig, 1876), I: 316.

kraut leader," or even as a "German Know-Nothing,"²⁵ it certainly pointed to a fundamental drive in his personality. When his friend Henry Greenebaum, the banker, told a mass meeting of Chicago Germans in 1872, "You all know that through him, and as long as you stood unitedly behind him, your political influence was raised higher than anywhere else in the country,"²⁶ he must have been deeply flattered. For the time being, however, he had started on the wrong track by enlisting with the Whigs and had to suffer the consequences.

A way out did not open until about ten years later. In 1852 we find him associated with such eminent Cincinnati Germans as Fritz Hassaurek and Charles Ruemelin in founding the "Miami Tribe"²⁷ against the Know-Nothings; and with the same men he is said to have started two years later the Ohio branch of the Republican Party. But what the uproar of the turbulent fifties really meant to him and to the Cincinnati and Chicago Germans is most clearly expressed in his own words, still vibrant with passion and resentment after an interval of twenty years. When he addressed a Chicago minister in 1872 he said:

You do not seem to know that in my memory lives the recollection of a time when Germans were persecuted by American mobs with as great a brutality, and as diabolic a cruelty, as that with which Europeans have ever been persecuted in China, Chinese in California, or Jews in Rumania. You have not seen it—I, Mr. Collyer, did see it—how packs of native Americans, drunk with the desire to kill, burned down churches of the "damned Germans." You have not seen it . . . how peaceful Germans were hunted down

²⁵ *Chicago Times*, Nov. 8, 1874; Feb. 6 and 19, May 5, 1875.

²⁶ *Ill. Staats-Zeitung*, Oct. 31, 1872. On Henry Greenebaum see Herman Eliassof, *German-American Jews* (Chicago, 1915), 55-57, and *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, XV (1915), 371-73.

²⁷ Emil Dietzsch, *Chicago's Deutsche Männer* (Chicago, 1885), 45. On Ruemelin (spelled Reemelin), see *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, IV: 318-19. On Hassaurek see *Dictionary of American Biography*.

and butchered in the streets of Louisville. You probably have never heard the land of your birth maligned by people who count themselves among the upper classes, with that intense contempt of which only the most ignorant and uncouth hoodlum is capable. And, Mr. Collyer, you probably have never tried to put yourself into the place of decent people, conscious of the most sincere love for the land of their choice, who are mocked and jeered at because they are not able to speak the English language as fluently as those whose mother tongue it is. If you had seen and experienced all that you would not so rashly suppose that a German-born American citizen could forget his extraction as quickly as a British-born citizen his English birth.²⁸

Hesing was German-born, and he never forgot it, and as long as he was in public life nobody else was permitted to forget it. It is possible that the swelling tide of Know-Nothingism drove him out of Cincinnati. He came to Chicago in 1854; the next year the Know-Nothings triumphed here also, and the Windy City became the scene of a bloody fight between Germans and Nativists. If Hesing was not mixed up in the so-called "lager-beer riot"²⁹—which we do not know—the reason no doubt lay not in prudence, of which he had little, but rather in private troubles growing out of his recklessness. In Cincinnati he had been a tavern-keeper and hotel owner; in Chicago he plunged into an entirely different branch of business: he started a brickyard with defective clay and failed; then with Charles S. Dole, a prominent merchant, as his partner, he tried brickmaking once more in Port Clinton (now Highland Park) and was wiped out when the depression of 1857 brought all building activities to a standstill.

Thereupon he turned to politics for a living, and

²⁸ *Ill. Staats-Zeitung*, Jan. 23, 1872.

²⁹ On the Chicago "lager beer riot," see Andreas, *History of Chicago*, I: 614-16, *Chicago Weekly Democrat*, Aug. 7, 1855, and *Ill. Staats-Zeitung*, April 21, 1898.



ANTON C. HESING

naturally he cast his lot with the Republican Party.³⁰ In doing so he once more stood apart from the overwhelming majority of his countrymen. His quick rise in the new organization, his being "discovered" by Hermann Kriesmann and George Schneider, has even been ascribed to the dearth of capable German campaign speakers on the Republican side.³¹ No doubt, too, many of the Germans were still "persuaded . . . that every anti-Nebraska man must necessarily be a Maine Law liquor man and a Know-Nothing,"³² and Lincoln himself did not escape the suspicion of being a Know-Nothing.³³ We know that Lincoln cordially loathed the intolerant doctrine,³⁴ but he would not come out against it and actually refused to join any "fusion" that would omit the Know-Nothings, many of whom were his "old political and personal friends."³⁵ Only once did he show his hand. At the historic conference of the anti-Nebraska editors at Decatur in 1856, probably encouraged by the chairman of the Resolutions Committee,³⁶ he helped a mildly anti-Nativist plank to victory. After voting this plank the conferees were circumspect enough to name a committee of three for the task of calling the

³⁰ When he had become a powerful party leader he was credited with being one of the founders of his party in Illinois (*Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, XI: 241, and *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XVIII: 395). However, his name rarely appeared in contemporary newspapers before 1860, and then was usually misspelled, as it was even on the county ticket on which he was nominated for sheriff in 1860.

³¹ Dietzsch, *Chicago's Deutsche Männer*, 44.

³² Cole, *Era of the Civil War*, 137.

³³ *Ibid.*, 137n.

³⁴ See Lincoln's letter to Joshua Speed, in F. I. Herriott, "The Premises and Significance of Abraham Lincoln's Letter to Theodore Canisius," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, XV (1915), 240.

³⁵ Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln*, II: 354.

³⁶ This was Dr. Ray, editor of the *Chicago Press and Tribune*, who had written on the eve of the conference that he thought it "of the utmost importance that in the approaching State convention of anti-Nebraska men of Illinois, there should be some distinct ground assumed upon which the 20,000 anti-slavery German voters of the State can stand." Tracy E. Strevey, "Joseph Medill" (Thesis, University of Chicago), 27.

first Republican state convention in Illinois—a committee composed of one abolitionist, one German and one Know-Nothing!³⁷ But even so, Lincoln's action apparently had been rash. Nothing could better illustrate the extreme fragility of the "fusion" structure, than that the first party state convention in 1857 turned the Schneider-Lincoln plank over to the more experienced hands of Orville H. Browning for a revamping that would "reconcile both Know-Nothings and German's [*sic*] to act with us."³⁸ And in 1858 this much watered-down plank was finally dropped and silently buried "since the Know-Nothing or American vote must be had at all costs!"³⁹

That under these circumstances the bulk of the Germans in Illinois continued to vote Democratic goes without saying.

IV.

But Hesing in Chicago, at any rate, went to work at their conversion. Little can be known of his activities prior to 1860 because no copies of the German papers published before the Civil War have survived the Chicago Fire. But from one well-informed source we hear that "it was in many respects fortunate for the Republican party in that day . . . that it had on its side as positive and aggressive a man as Mr. Hesing, who was always ready for a fight;"⁴⁰ while another informs us that whenever there was danger of a Republican meeting being broken up, "Hesing was sure to be there to

³⁷ Cole, *Era of the Civil War*, 143.

³⁸ T. C. Pease and J. G. Randall, eds., *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning* (Illinois Historical Collections, XX, Springfield, 1925), I: 237-38.

³⁹ Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln*, II: 571.

⁴⁰ *Chicago Tribune*, April 1, 1895.

put his massive fists into the service of the good cause."⁴¹ By 1857 he was influential enough to get for his Germans a bridge on North Avenue connecting Chicago's north and west sides.⁴² And in 1858 he was permitted for the first time to taste the fruits of office, being appointed deputy sheriff of Cook County.

A story of that day shows him immediately abusing his official authority for electioneering purposes. In a city election the Irish, Democrats to a man, had assumed squatter sovereignty before the single window of a certain polling place, having arrived on the evening before. In the early morning hours Hesing was apprised by his friends of the "serious" situation. He came, saw, and told his Germans to line up on the other side of the booth; then he separated the two groups by a police cordon; and when the hour to vote came, he himself went inside and sawed an opening into the boards on the side where his countrymen were waiting. "By the time it was noon," the German chronicler exulted, "not a single Irishman had yet cast a vote."⁴³ There are many similar stories throwing a whimsical light on Chicago city politics in the fifties,⁴⁴ though to Hesing no doubt his work appeared desperately serious. He succeeded in 1858 in turning the "bloody Seventh Ward" Republican.⁴⁵ And doing that brought him once or twice into contact with Abraham Lincoln.

Lincoln never afterwards went out on a limb against Know-Nothingism as far as he had gone at Decatur. But

⁴¹ *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, XI: 243.

⁴² *Ill. Staats-Zeitung*, Oct. 31, 1872.

⁴³ Dietzsch, *Chicago's Deutsche Männer*, 47.

⁴⁴ *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, XI: 244, reports an incident on a street car that is said to have first made Hesing widely known in Chicago. Hesing cleared a seat for a "negro lady" with a laundry basket, but started a riot.

⁴⁵ *Ill. Staats-Zeitung*, Oct. 26, 1869.

two years after that conference he once more let the Chicago Germans know how he felt. The letter in which he did so has never been published except in a German campaign biography of 1860. The original being lost it is re-translated here from the German:

SPRINGFIELD,
June 30, 1858

To the A. C. Hesing, H. Wendt, A. Fischer Committee.
GENTLEMEN:

I have received your kind letter inviting me to attend your Independence Day celebration on the 5., at which occasion it is planned to present a banner to the German Republicans of the 7. Ward of your city. I regret to have to tell you that my engagements are of such kind that I cannot be with you. I have received several previous invitations all of which I was forced to decline except one which will cost me a single day. To attend to yours would demand at least four.

I am sending you a toast:

Our German citizens—true to Liberty, to the Union and to the Constitution: true to Liberty not from selfish reasons but from principle—not for certain classes of people but for all people: and true to the Union and the Constitution as the best means to advance this Liberty!

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.⁴⁶

That Lincoln in speaking of "certain classes of people" who would deny liberty to others was thinking of Northern Know-Nothings as well as Southern slaveholders can be regarded as certain. In his famous (then unpublished) letter to Joshua Speed he had asked: "How could I be [a Know-Nothing]? How can any one who abhors the oppression of negroes be in favor of degrad-

⁴⁶ *Das Leben von Abraham Lincoln* . . . (printed by Höffgen and Schneider, Chicago, 1860), 12. George Schneider, the probable author of this campaign biography, was the most eminent German Republican in Chicago in the 1850's. He was superseded by Hesing, but the Chicago Germans later preferred to remember him rather than the overbearing boss. On his long and honorable career see *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, VII (1907), 65 ff., *Ill. Staats-Zeitung*, April 8, 1873 and April 21, 1898, and Cole, *Era of the Civil War*, 123 and 143 ff.

ing classes of white people?"⁴⁷ Evidently he saw in the alien question a class issue. And that the Germans would understand him he could not doubt. Though they might have little sympathy for the black man they were not unaccustomed to comparing their own case, their threatened oppression by Know-Nothings, to the slavery of the Negroes.⁴⁸

A second occasion that brought Hesing into some contact with Lincoln was the Republican convention that nominated the latter for the United States Senate. This episode seems to have earned Hesing the enmity of a powerful Chicago politician whose influence became important when Hesing himself ran for office in 1860. It will therefore be related in different connection.

V.

That a German could be nominated at all on a Republican ticket and have a chance to be elected in 1860, was due to the major crisis that shook the party during the year and a half before Lincoln's election. It all started in Massachusetts, generally regarded as the most Republican state in the Union. In the spring of 1859 the large Republican majority of the Massachusetts legislature suddenly enacted a constitutional amendment disfranchising immigrants for two additional years after their naturalization. Lincoln felt apprehensive,⁴⁹ and Carl Schurz for once was thoroughly aroused by a matter affecting primarily his compatriots.⁵⁰ So, no doubt, was

⁴⁷ *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, XV: 240.

⁴⁸ The German paper in Madison, Wisconsin, for example, accused Schurz in 1859 of "joining in jubilee with those [Know-Nothings] who had just deprived his countrymen of rights they gave to negroes." Easum, *Americanization of Schurz*, 243-44.

⁴⁹ *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, XV: 252.

⁵⁰ "The responsibility of Massachusetts is awful," he said; the Republican Party "has given evidence of inconsistency and bad faith." Frederick Bancroft, ed., *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz* (1913), I: 43 and 74.

every German Republican in the country. Yet for nearly a year the "party line" was not changed: nothing must be said that might cause the loss of the precious Know-Nothing vote! To placate the Germans, Schurz was invited to deliver an oration in Boston on "True Americanism"—a speech written at an earlier date, into which he was permitted to insert a few vague sentences against "False Americanism," i.e. discrimination against immigrants. Thereupon he was arraigned by a German paper in his home state for "joining in jubilee with those who had just deprived his countrymen of rights they gave to negroes."⁵¹ And when a blunt countryman in Cincinnati asked the best-known German Republicans in the Union to sign a manifesto against Know-Nothingism in the Republican Party, these are the answers he got: Koerner of Illinois thought it "inadvisable;" Douai of Boston also thought it "inadvisable" though for different reasons; Kapp in New York thought "the time was not appropriate;" Stallo in Cincinnati politely "declined;" and Schurz, more outspoken than the rest, confessed that "without a previous conference and full understanding with his colleagues [of the Republican Party] he could not undertake to act."⁵²

Yet the Know-Nothings had overshot their mark. The Massachusetts amendments started "one of the most furious political blazes this country has ever witnessed," a "violent revulsion of feeling among the Germans . . . from Boston to San Francisco."⁵³ Faced by the prospect of the foreign vote turning out in record strength for the Democracy while Know-Nothingism

⁵¹ Easum, *Americanization of Schurz*, 243-44.

⁵² Koerner, *Memoirs*, II: 75-76.

⁵³ *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, 1928, p. 109.

was in decline, the party suddenly changed its course. In Illinois the party leaders agreed to write individual letters to the press as their course of action, while in Iowa the Republican State Central Committee voiced anti-Nativist sentiments in a set of sweeping resolutions.⁵⁴ And at the national convention in the spring of 1860 Carl Schurz was commissioned to write an anti-Know-Nothing plank that was incorporated into the Republican platform.

The publication of the platform announced to the electorate the divorce between Nativism and Republicanism. The voters had to realign. In the East where an independent Know-Nothing party had preserved a good part of its vote-getting appeal,⁵⁵ coalitions between "Americans" and Democrats sprang up. Nobody had denounced the Know-Nothings more scathingly at the height of their power than Stephen A. Douglas; but now the Democratic Party in New York published a list of thirty-five "electors," ten of whom were not Democrats but Know-Nothings.⁵⁶

On the other hand the effect on those Germans who had remained true to the Democratic Party can well be imagined. In September, 1860, Hermann Raster,⁵⁷ correspondent for several German newspapers in New York (later the "editorial autocrat" of the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*) could report to the *Berliner National Zeitung*:

⁵⁴ *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, XV: 219 ff. In Iowa a number of influential Republican papers energetically repudiated the declaration of the committee. *Ibid.*, 182, 187.

⁵⁵ In the state elections in New York in 1859 every candidate who had Know-Nothing support won (*Daily Ill. State Journal*, Oct. 18, 1860); and in Rhode Island, thanks to a split in the Democratic organization, they carried the state in the spring of 1860 (*Berliner National-Zeitung*, April 26, 1860).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Aug. 31, 1860.

⁵⁷ On Raster see Peter H. Olden and Harvey Wish, "The Influence of the Illinois Staats-Zeitung upon American Politics," *The American-German Review*, Feb. 1940, pp. 30 ff.

The change of party among the Germans is very lively. The number of German Democrats who in the last three months have come into the Republican camp in the whole of the Union must be calculated by the tens of thousands . . . Even here in the East the ice is broken, and in the city of New York at least twice as many German votes will be cast for Lincoln as Fremont received. That in all the free states plus Missouri a decided majority of the Germans is today on the side of the Republican Party can be asserted with the greatest definiteness.

It is interesting to note that, in the opinion of an expert observer, the "ice" was not definitely "broken" until two or three months before the election, and even then the statement that at last the majority of the Germans could be counted for Lincoln was made with an overemphasis that betrays some lingering doubt.

Raster's article continued:

The fact that the Douglas party has allied herself with the genuine old Know-Nothing Party has contributed much to disgust thousands of German Democrats who up to now stuck to the Democracy for the single reason that they saw in her the deadly enemy of the Know-Nothing tendencies. When they now hear their allies who have been forced upon them scold the Republican Party as the "Dutch party," when the Know-Nothings wail to high heaven that the Republican Party has completely surrendered to German influence, then it must dawn upon them on which sides the interests and desires of the Germans find the most adequate representation.⁵⁸

The Republicans undoubtedly lost the votes of many who preferred under such circumstances to vote the Bell, or even the Douglas ticket,⁵⁹ but probably won more from the Germans and other naturalized foreigners. But

⁵⁸ *Berliner National-Zeitung*, Sept. 22, 1860.

⁵⁹ The last minute shift in the Republican Party was of course anticipated when the Republican platform was being written; Thomas H. Dudley of New Jersey, member of the platform committee, agreed to vote for the anti-Know-Nothing plank in return for Schurz's promise that he "would campaign in New Jersey and win enough German votes to make up for the loss of the American Allies." James Lee Sellers, "The Make-Up of the Early Republican Party," *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, 1930, p. 48.

whatever the balance might have been for the party, the last minute shift could not but be most gratifying to the long-suffering German Republican chieftains. The element they led now became decisive in the outcome of the election of 1860,⁶⁰ and remained indispensable to the composition of a Republican majority for many years afterwards. That simple fact spelled office and honor for Schurz, power and patronage for Hesing.

In the Middle West, as Raster himself in the above quoted article had intimated, the shift of the Germans from Democratic to Republican party allegiance had been somewhat longer under way than on the eastern seaboard. In Chicago, the German wards, primarily under the leadership of George Schneider, were rolling up a large Republican majority for the first time in the spring of 1860.⁶¹ Lincoln's own paper, the *Illinois State Journal*, thought it striking that "the *Chicago Times*, the leading Democratic paper of this State . . . since the Chicago [mayoralty] election, can find no epithets mean enough to express its dislike of the Germans." It quoted the paper which at the moment was owned by Cyrus McCormick, pillar of Illinois Democracy,⁶² as having called the Germans a "noisy, ragged, dirty, and miserable looking drove of imported voting cattle . . . rag-tag and bob-tail of creation." No doubt about it, the Democratic *Times* was learning the vocabulary of Know-Nothingism. "Here [Springfield]," the *State Journal* continued, "where there is a lingering hope that the Democracy may be able to secure their support, at least in part,

⁶⁰ See *ante*, notes 1 and 12.

⁶¹ "It was the two German wards . . . that gave Wentworth his whole majority." *Detroit Free Press*, April 17, 1860, quoted by Herriott, *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, 1928, p. 152.

⁶² Mrs. L. E. Ellis, "The Chicago Times During the Civil War," *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, 1932, p. 137.

they pretend to be great friends of these same 'voting cattle.' " ⁶³

A month later city elections were to take place in Springfield, and the same paper betrayed sombre apprehensions. It expressed a none-too-confident hope that its rival paper in Springfield, the *Democratic Register*, "can't bamboozle our intelligent foreign citizens by its stale cry of Know-Nothingism." ⁶⁴ But as soon as the results were in, it exultingly thanked "Our German Citizens," who, "until within the last year, owing to the falsehoods promulgated against the principles of the Republican party . . . have been claimed as the staunchest allies of the pro-slavery demagogues," ⁶⁵ but who had at last seen the light. Even so the exodus from the Democracy cannot have been complete, for the *Journal* mentioned after Lincoln's election that many Germans had voted the Republican ticket for the first time. ⁶⁶

VI.

To this slow, continuous trend, Hesing undoubtedly owed his nomination for a minor office in 1860. It was for the Republicans a ticklish situation. In 1858 they had

⁶³ *Daily Ill. State Journal*, March 17, 1860.

⁶⁴ *Daily Ill. State Journal*, April 3, 1860.

⁶⁵ *Daily Ill. State Journal*, April 5, 1860.

⁶⁶ *Daily Ill. State Journal*, Nov. 10, 1860. Lincoln believed by 1856 that the Germans "were 'safe' for the new party," Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln*, II: 410. If the editors of the *State Journal* had shared the optimism of their publisher—perhaps in the heat of the Frémont campaign—they certainly were disabused by 1860. Beveridge, however, simply agreed with Lincoln and saw no further German problem. Neither have other historians of the Civil War period—not even Hermann von Holst. Both Beveridge and Holst quote lists of German-American newspapers taken from contemporary sources to show that most of them were backing the Republican candidate. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln*, II: 410, and H. von Holst, *Constitutional and Political History of the United States* (Chicago, 1885), IV: 428-29. Yet Henry Villard, who in that same year tried to make a go with a Republican German-language paper in Wisconsin described an entirely different situation, *Memoirs* (Boston, 1904), I: 58. Lincoln and the historians seem to have been deceived by the greater articulateness of the radical minority among the Germans.

found it necessary to drop that mild, watered-down anti-Nativist plank that Lincoln had approved at Decatur. In 1859, Joseph Medill, Hesing's staunch friend, had demanded "good faith and fair dealing with those . . . who have for the sake of principle been willing to fraternize with Know-Nothings, their most deadly enemies."⁶⁷ Yet to take "good faith and fair dealing" seriously in a place like Chicago, even after the publication of the Republican platform, was to endanger party unity.⁶⁸

Because of this antagonism the sheepish tone with which Medill's *Press and Tribune* announced the candidature of Hesing for the highest office a German had yet filled in the County of Cook⁶⁹—that of sheriff—is not surprising. The editor said:

It was conceded on all hands that a purely native American ticket ought not and could not safely be nominated. The German element in the Republican party is large, solid, staunch, and true—faithful on all occasions, national and municipal. And among the foreign-born population in the city there is not a more zealous and hard-working Republican than A. C. Hessing [*sic*]. . . . We do not think our German friends have been at all exacting in their demands upon the party, nor that the Convention has been in any degree too liberal in that direction.⁷⁰

If the *Tribune* was expecting trouble, at least it did not have to wait. On the day after the nomination, McCormick's *Chicago Times*, soon to acquire fame as the chief "Copperhead" organ in the Middle West, was

⁶⁷ Michael Singer, ed., *Jahrbuch der Deutschen in Chicago und im Staate Illinois* (Chicago, 1917), 179.

⁶⁸ "When Hesing in the fall announced his candidature for the office of sheriff such a storm of protest arose among the Know-Nothing element in the Party, that many began to be afraid that the partnership between "Yankees" and "Dutch" for the attainment of a great aim would go to pieces." Dietzsch, *Chicago's Deutsche Männer*, 48.

⁶⁹ J. Seymour Currey, *Chicago: Its History and Its Builders* (Chicago, 1912), IV: 93.

⁷⁰ *Press and Tribune*, Sept. 26, 1860.

paying Helsing its compliments in approved Know-Nothing style:

His father, we are credibly informed, was one of the hired band of Hessians bought by George III, to fight against our fathers⁷¹. . . We understand that he is not only an unmitigated atheist, but an active foe of our whole Christian religion.⁷²

In answering these charges the *Tribune* had to admit that Helsing's parents were Catholics, though "according to the mild and tolerant description of that creed as professed and practiced in North Germany." This was embarrassing, in view of the general Anglo-Saxon, and special Know-Nothing, prejudice against Catholics, and in view of the political chasm that had freshly opened between Protestants and Catholics since the rise of the Republican Party.⁷³ Not only the Irish but by and large also the German Catholics remained staunchly Democratic. That was partly due to their particular incompatibility with the Know-Nothing element in the Republican Party, and in part, no doubt, to the blatant anti-clericalism of the forty-eighters.⁷⁴

Continuing its defense of Helsing the *Tribune* pointed out that "coming to this country an orphan at the age of sixteen, he readily became a Protestant, and his denominational belief accords substantially wit the

⁷¹ Helsing was born in Vechta, grand-duchy of Oldenburg, and none of his family, as the *Tribune* was to point out, had ever set foot on American soil.

⁷² Quoted in *Press and Tribune*, Sept. 28, 1860.

⁷³ The *Tribune* itself could occasionally speak of "that portion of the foreign vote which is not wedded by the Catholic Church to Pro-Slavery Democracy in indissoluble bonds," and another time opined that "Catholicism and Republicanism are as plainly incompatible as oil and water." *Press and Tribune*, May 5 and July 17, 1860.

Lincoln's paper undoubtedly appealed to the anti-Catholic prejudice when it printed a report from Chicago, that on the night before the spring elections a Democratic street parade had carried a banner inscribed, simply, "Down with the Protestants!" *Daily Ill. State Journal*, March 10, 1860.

⁷⁴ "One paid little attention to the Sunday consecration of others, and even went so far as to poke fun at them publicly." *Ill. Staats-Zeitung*, April 21, 1898. Lincoln had received the impression "that most educated people in Germany were 'infidels,'" Villard, *Memoirs*, I: 97.

Unitarians."⁷⁵ This was hardly as reassuring as the next: he had been a Whig from 1839 on, "thereby [indeed] differing with the great majority of his countrymen," and had voted for Henry Clay, Zack Taylor, and General Scott.

VII.

From the day of the first attack in the *Times*, Hesing found himself under a cross fire from both the local Democracy and a disgruntled Republican faction.⁷⁶ That faction seems to have been composed of the followers of "Long John" Wentworth, whose elevation to the mayoralty was in large part due to the Germans, first in 1857, and especially at his second election in March, 1860. Wentworth's own paper, the *Chicago Daily Democrat*, never once mentioned Hesing nor indeed any other name on the county ticket, but instead railed now and then against a corrupt "Court House clique" who keep themselves in "good fat offices." That this was aimed at Hesing, and that the "big take" of the sheriff's office had much to do with the envy his candidacy aroused is apparent from an editorial in the *Tribune* of September 29, 1860.

"Long John's" personal hostility, however, may have had deeper and more interesting roots. In 1858, at the height of his brilliant career, the most "resourceful

⁷⁵ Hesing eventually became a pillar of Catholic charities in Chicago, and while he was its publisher the *Ill. Staats-Zeitung* was kept at least relatively free from attacks on the church. He later claimed credit for having made the German Catholics in Chicago Republican, while those in Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Milwaukee remained Democrats. *Ill. Staats-Zeitung*, Oct. 26, 1869.

⁷⁶ In the possession of William E. Baringer is a broadside, *To the Republican Voters of Cook Co.*, which declares that the authors of another circular cast "aspersions upon the character" of Hesing, were wolves in sheep clothes, Democrats pretending to be Republicans. This, of course, should be discounted as an attempt to discredit the Republican faction that opposed Hesing. William E. Baringer, "Campaign Technique in Illinois—1860," *Trans. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, 1932, pp. 271-72. The *Tribune* mentioned anonymous handbills attacking Hesing on Oct. 29, and Nov. 5, 1860.

politician . . . in the State''⁷⁷ thought to take the Republican nomination away from an obscure country lawyer whom he little respected, and to run against Douglas, the Democratic nominee, himself. In the execution of an unprecedented maneuver by which Norman B. Judd succeeded in undoing Wentworth's scheme, a banner inscribed "Cook County is for Abraham Lincoln" which was carried into the Republican convention at the strategic moment, had played a minor, but a dramatic role. It twice aroused a "perfect hurricane of enthusiasm"—the second time when it was "amended," on motion of a Peoria delegate, to read "Illinois is for Abraham Lincoln." In this fashion "the enemies of 'Long John' in Chicago thought they had put a nail in his coffin . . . and . . . killed off his Senatorial aspirations."''⁷⁸ Lincoln's biographer, Beveridge, following the lead of contemporary papers,⁷⁹ makes much of the incident. One of Hesing's friends many years later recalled that it had been Hesing who had carried the banner.⁸⁰ Nor would it be at all unlikely that the idea had originated with him, nor that "Long John" knew it and now in 1860 was repaying the old affront.⁸¹

It should also be noted here that the Republicans issued a weekly campaign paper in Chicago in the autumn of 1860, called *The Railsplitter* and edited by a German. In its last issue before the election it published a special

⁷⁷ Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln*, II: 566-67.

⁷⁸ Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln*, II: 571-72, quoting *Chicago Daily Times*, June 22, 1858.

⁷⁹ *Chicago Daily Journal*, June 16, 1858; *Chicago Daily Press*, June 18, 1858; *Chicago Daily Democrat*, June 24, 1858; *Ill. State Journal*, June 17, 1858.

⁸⁰ Dietzsch, *Chicago's Deutsche Männer*, 46.

⁸¹ Wentworth's star was setting with the election of 1860. Hesing succeeded him as boss in Chicago, and Medill took away his newspaper, the *Democrat*, in 1862, under threat of libel action. When he ran once more for Congress in 1870 he was beaten by Hesing's machine. Strevey, "Medill," 20, and Fremont O. Bennett, *Politics and Politicians* (Chicago, 1886), 135-36.

editorial on Hesing: "The Democracy are particularly anxious for the defeat of A. C. Hessing [*sic*], and are trying to make all kinds of combinations against him We have been appealed to."⁸² Although it devoted considerable space to Hesing, it failed to refer to his nationality as a cause of the attacks on him. Charles Leib, the editor, being a German, may have thought it unwise to raise the nationality issue in an English language paper.

In any case, the *Tribune* leaves no reasonable doubt as to the paramount importance of the nationality question in Hesing's race for office:

If Mr. Hesing is not a fit man to be made Sheriff of Cook County out with it and tell the people what he has done. . . . You oppose him. . . . because he is a German. That's it. Now stop beating about the bush and tell the reason at once.—Say "D—n the Dutchman!" and have done with it.⁸³

In the end, the appeals of the *Tribune* sound fairly frantic with despair:

Are we to lose the Legislature and accept in Trumbull's place Don Morrison for U. S. Senator, because Hesing was born in Germany? . . . Shall we prevent the large German vote, without which Republicanism in Chicago and Illinois is powerless, from going with us hereafter, by winking at the defeat of the German candidate now?

And in another column:

Why . . . not say that "he must be beaten because he is a Dutchman?" Why not print in the papers what you sore-heads and pro-slavery men acting in concert are constantly asserting in the streets and in the grog-shops?⁸⁴

Of course the *Tribune* was angling for the German vote, but the paper could not have hoped to make an

⁸² *The Rail Splitter*, Oct. 27, 1860.

⁸³ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Oct. 30, 1860.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 3, 1860.

issue effective if it had not been current. That the fight against Hesing really was inspired by national prejudice, was not only the conviction of the *Tribune* editors, but of many of his countrymen, too. Henry Greenebaum, for example, Hesing's devoted friend in the seventies, but at that time a prominent Douglas Democrat, later remembered having written a letter to defend Hesing, when he was attacked "in the most shameless manner because he was a German."⁸⁵ The Reverend Joseph Hartmann, prominent Lutheran minister, wrote that although Hesing was not a member of his church he believed him innocent of the charges of "infidelity and atheism,"⁸⁶ and toward the very end of the campaign eleven "German Democrats" protested against "the coarse and vulgar attacks of the *Times and Herald* on . . . the German-American citizens in general" and declared "while we never shall desert the time-honored principles of the Democratic party . . . we shall vote for Mr. A. C. Hesing."⁸⁷

That the outlook for Hesing was still dismal appears from a surprising appeal to "any Republican with Know-Nothing proclivities" carried by the *Tribune* on election day. The *Tribune* beseeched the nativistic Republicans to vote for Hesing, instead of against him, because, if elected, he would fill his office with Americans, while his native-born Democratic opponent was sure to "surround himself with Hibernians."⁸⁸ This certainly could be no bait for the German vote.

Even after the election the *Tribune* was at first in-

⁸⁵ *Ill. Staats-Zeitung*, Oct. 31, 1872. In the letter Greenebaum had written: "Mr. Hesing cannot have my vote for sheriff, for political reasons only. I am satisfied that he is a Republican of the blackest kind." *Press and Tribune*, Sept. 28, 1860.

⁸⁶ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 2, 1860.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Nov. 5, 1860.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, Nov. 6, 1860.

clined to concede Hesing's defeat "the only drawback to our triumph."⁸⁹ But while Hesing had run behind his ticket, the Republican landslide had carried him into office. Cook County gave the Republican candidate for President in 1860 a plurality of 4,743 over Douglas, while the candidates for Governor and for one of the state senatorships had even stronger local appeal and received pluralities of 4,917 and 5,102.⁹⁰ The German candidate for sheriff was elected by only 1,842 votes over his Democratic rival and might have been defeated but for those German Democrats who split their ticket for the sake of their countryman.

VIII.

Hesing had had a tight squeeze. He had suffered for the sake of his nationality and he was one who never forgot. At the same time, the fight which had been waged against him had made his name the symbol of the German immigrant's cause and had established his claim to local leadership. The office he had won assured him a very large income; until the next depression struck in the early seventies he was to command considerable wealth.⁹¹ He now held a strong hand, and for a few years he was to play his cards well enough and in characteristic fashion.

His further political advancement he again owed indirectly to Lincoln. The President showed his gratitude for German help in Chicago by giving both George

⁸⁹ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 7, 1860.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Nov. 10, 1860.

⁹¹ Hesing was penniless after the crash of 1857, and was making but \$45 a month as Collector of the Water Toll in 1858. In 1869, according to a sworn affidavit of C. F. Pietsch, secretary of the *Staats-Zeitung* company, he was worth \$250,000. *Chicago Tribune*, June 20, 1876. In 1869 the "fairly estimated value" of the fees received by the sheriff of Cook County was \$15,000. *Ibid.*, Sept. 14, 1869.

Schneider and Hermann Kreismann consular and diplomatic appointments in Europe. In this way, the two men who had made the Chicago Germans Republican in politics, were removed and lost touch with their organization. Besides, when Schneider left for Scandinavia in 1862, he had need for ready cash: Hesing by then had reaped enough of the fruits of office to be able to purchase a one-third interest in Schneider's *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*. He became business manager of the paper, while Lorenz Brentano,⁹² who bought another third, became editor.

In 1863 the paper that had been a vital factor in making Lincoln President⁹³ turned against Lincoln and his administration. Many of the Germans by then were impatient with what they considered the procrastinations of the President.⁹⁴ Hence the move was popular, while it was perhaps really designed to embarrass Schneider, and to force him to relinquish the final one-third ownership of the paper. The scheme, if scheme it was, succeeded: Schneider was recalled from Europe, returned to Chicago, decided resignedly that he could do nothing to change the course of the paper that was so largely his creation, and in loyalty to the President sold the interest he still owned to Hesing and Brentano. From now on Hesing had a respectable and influential position: he was sheriff no longer, but he was publisher of the biggest German paper west of New York City. He had, in addition, a second no less important occupation as boss of an expanding city machine.

⁹² On Lorenz Brentano, the father of Judge Theodore Brentano, Geneva, Ill., see Dietzsch, *Chicago's Deutsche Männer*, 59, and *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, XI: 245.

⁹³ *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XVI (1910-1911), 786.

⁹⁴ Andrew J. Townsend, *The Germans of Chicago* (Chicago, 1932), 30; Strevey, "Medill," 126; *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, XI: 245.

In 1866 he was a factor in the national elections.⁹⁵ The following year he bought Brentano's share of the *Staats-Zeitung* for \$80,000, and became sole owner.⁹⁶ No question for whom he used his power: by the end of the sixties an admirer (no doubt overenthusiastic) could think that "most of the offices in city and county administration were in German hands."⁹⁷ Hesing was exacting retribution for the agonies undergone in Whig and Know-Nothing days, till even the long suffering *Tribune* was to cry out in exasperation: "The everlasting clatter about the claims of the German element is as offensive to the great majority of the Germans as it is to the American voters!"⁹⁸

But that belongs to another and a more turbulent chapter in the life of the only German boss in Chicago's colorful history.

⁹⁵ Currey, *Chicago: Its History and Its Builders*, IV: 93.

⁹⁶ *Ill. Staats-Zeitung*, April 21, 1898, 45.

⁹⁷ Dietzsch, *Chicago's Deutsche Männer*, 61.

⁹⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 31, 1869.

HISTORICAL NOTES

THE FIRST ORDAINED CONGREGATIONAL WOMAN MINISTER IN THE UNITED STATES

The first ordination of a woman minister in any Congregational church in the United States took place on July 19, 1889, in Wyanet, Illinois. Mary L. Moreland, supply preacher, yielded to the urging of a few farsighted church fathers, passed the grilling oral examination of an ordination committee, and brought this "first" honor to herself and to that small Bureau County town.

For over half a century, the honor has passed unnoticed by any save a few of the older members of the Wyanet church. Official records from national headquarters of the Congregational Church make only bare mention of her ordination without any comment on the honor conferred upon her as their first ordained woman minister.

In the clear and beautiful handwriting of an early record book of the Congregational Church in Wyanet, this notation is made:

Rev. Mary L. Moreland was the first woman ordained in the Congregational church in the United States, her first pastorate being that of the Congregational church of Wyanet, Illinois, which she served acceptably for a period of more than six years during which time the church prospered spiritually and financially and her faithful and kindly ministrations among the sick and sorrowing will long be remembered.¹

Through the courteous research of the Reverend Frederick L. Fagley, associate secretary of the general council of the Congregational and Christian churches of the United States, this honor claimed by the Wyanet church has been substantiated as fact. Dr. Fagley, who is now writing a history of Congregationalism, responded to a letter of inquiry by searching the records in the council headquarters, New York City, and the Congregational library in Boston where many of the old records are kept. He replied: "I have made diligent search through our records and find no ordination of

¹ Record book of First Congregational Church, Wyanet, Ill., May 8, 1884-1917, p. 23.

a woman to the ministry prior to that of Miss Mary L. Moreland, Wyanet, Illinois, July 19, 1889. So I believe you are justified in your belief that she was the first woman so ordained."²

The little Wyanet Congregational Church, founded in 1866,³ had but few members in the late eighties, was in poor financial condition, and finally was without a pastor. A young evangelist by the name of Mary L. Moreland was making her presence felt in that part of Illinois and so was invited in February, 1889, to hold services in the Wyanet church, which she did nightly and on Sundays during the first two weeks of April. The people liked her and a business meeting of the church unanimously invited her to act as pulpit supply. The dynamic woman preacher immediately cleaned house and by July, new windows, paper, and paint had been added to the church building.

Some one of the church fathers, undoubtedly "Deacon" Isaac Phillips, conceived the idea of having the new minister ordained, even though she was a woman and such a move was without precedent. Considerable correspondence with headquarters opened controversy, it is remembered, but strengthened local determination. At length the church was given permission to go ahead with this plan, and it was decided to call a "council" on July 19, 1889, "for the purpose of examining as to qualifications, and ordaining Miss Moreland to the pastorate of the church." Letters were sent to Miss Anna Gordon, private secretary to Frances E. Willard, and to Miss Anna Allen West of Chicago, as well as to the Congregational churches of nearby towns, Neponset, Depue, Malden, Sheffield, Buda, Providence, requesting their presence on this date.⁴

Miss Moreland, herself, fully realized the seriousness of the occasion for in her obituary, printed in the W.C.T.U. *Watch Tower* in 1918, this statement is made: "Her ordination was a great innovation for a woman; she needed much persuasion, and consulted Miss Frances Willard before accepting."

After final agreement had been made, a council, made up of

² Year book of 1889, p. 13, at Congregational Council headquarters. Information from correspondence with Dr. Fagley, Oct., 1941, to whom writer was referred after requests sent to state and national headquarters in Chicago, New York and Boston.

³ The Wyanet Congregational Church celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary in October, 1941.

⁴ All facts regarding her call, work, and ordination are from the Wyanet church record book, 1884-1917, pp. 115-22.

pastors and delegates from the six invited churches, "examined the candidate as to religious experiences, theological belief, etc., after which they went into secret session. A thorough discussion of the fitness of the candidate resulted in an unanimous vote to proceed with the ordination services."

Reading between the lines of this old record book, one understands that there was no doubt in the minds of the church fathers as to their woman preacher being accepted. Especially was there no doubt in the minds of the church mothers, for these women had prepared a bounteous feast to follow the afternoon grilling, and fully expected the festive occasion to culminate, as it did, with the evening ordination service.

In the museum of the Bureau County Historical Society is an original letter from Frances E. Willard, president of the national W.C.T.U. with headquarters in Chicago. It is dated July 17, 1889, at Evanston, Illinois, and directed to Mrs. Isaac Phillips, Wyand, Illinois, in reply to a letter which Mrs. Phillips had written, requesting Miss Willard's presence at the ordination service. It says:

DEAR SISTERS: It would be a great pleasure to me to attend the ordination service of Miss Moreland as your pastor. Miss Gordon would also be glad to go but we are both so over-run with work and so run down with fatigue that we are keeping very close at home.

You have our prayers and earnest good wishes.

May the day hasten when women in the pulpit shall help lift the world nearer to Christ our Redeemer.

Always your sister and friend,

FRANCES E. WILLARD.⁵

In her letter of invitation to Miss Willard, Mrs. Phillips, who always kept copies of all important letters which she wrote, had said:

Miss Moreland is greatly beloved not only by her little flock but by the whole town, and I feel that the dear Master, who so greatly blessed her in the past, is leading her in the step she is about to take. . . . At the time of her coming among us, our church was spiritually weak, and attendance small, and she has been the means

⁵ Both Miss Willard's original letter and Mrs. Phillips' own copy of her invitation were given to the Bureau County Historical Museum, located in the basement of the courthouse in Princeton, by Mrs. Phillips' daughter, Cora E. Phillips of Princeton, who was a small child at the time of the ordination.



MARY L. MORELAND

not only of adding to the membership but has awakened an interest and enthusiasm unknown heretofore. . . . We are proud of our minister, and feel that it is no little honor to our town to be the first in the state among orthodox churches to ordain a woman in the ministry.

This last statement—that Miss Moreland was the first ordained woman minister in Illinois in any denomination—has not yet been proved through official records, but neither has it been disproved. In all probability, this honor also belongs to her as well as that of being the first woman minister ordained in any Congregational church in the United States.

The Wyanet church steadily increased during her seven years' pastorate both in numbers and finances. During the year 1892, her efforts cleared the church of debts although the treasury was left empty, the \$886.87 collected having been paid out to the last cent. And in addition to this amount, the little church group of 115 persons collected \$142.40 extra for various outside funds and missions. Her own salary started at \$520 per year, was increased to \$600, and finally to \$625, and "was paid in full at time of her resignation."⁶

But the time came when the Reverend Mary L. Moreland felt that she must leave the church and town that had honored her, and which she had richly repaid in service and friendship. With her were living a younger sister, Harriet, and a friend, Meda Eddy, for whom she wished to arrange college educations. By accepting a call to the church in McLean, Illinois, the girls could attend college in near-by Bloomington, and so, on August 4, 1895, she resigned as pastor, and the church, with regrets, accepted her wish.

Her pastorates included Wyanet, seven years; McLean, nine years, where funds raised by her labors enlarged the church and built a parsonage; Normal, two years; Chicago, five years; Chebanse in Iroquois County, three years; and the remainder of her lifetime was spent in traveling as a temperance speaker. Besides holding high offices in the state and national W.C.T.U., she was also a woman's suffrage leader. She lived in Belvidere from May, 1917, until her death from influenza, March 17, 1918, at the age of sixty-seven years. At her funeral, the W.C.T.U. acted as escort and Dr. John Gordon, minister of the Second Congregational church of Rock-

⁶ Wyanet church record book, 22, 23, 141.

ford, gave the address. She was buried in the family lot in Westfield, Massachusetts.

Data on the personal life of Miss Moreland both before and after her Wyanet pastorate, has been supplied by her two sisters, Mrs. Harriet Morrell and Mrs. Nellie Bowles, both now living in McLean, Illinois. Two other sisters and one brother are dead, and two brothers are still living in Massachusetts. Of her twelve nieces and nephews, only one is an Illinois resident, Mrs. Beatrice Morrell Riggs of Kankakee.⁷

Mary L. Moreland was born on December 23, 1851, in Westfield, Massachusetts, the daughter of parents well educated for their day. Her father, James William Moreland, was a mechanic. A staunch Union man, he and his brothers served in the Civil War. Her mother, a descendant of a Revolutionary soldier, also had two brothers in the Union Army.

Mary's education appears to have been unusually good for a woman of the Civil War period. She attended various academies, schools, and colleges in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, and Chicago; received a diploma in languages from the University of Chicago; and was given Ph.B. and A.M. degrees from Illinois Wesleyan University at Bloomington only a year or two before her death.⁸ Although she taught school for a few terms before coming to Illinois, it was to lecturing for evangelism and temperance, and to preaching as an ordained minister, that she devoted her talents and education, commencing her platform speaking at the age of seventeen.

Coming to Stewart, Illinois, in 1887, with an older sister, Mrs. Bowles, she soon made herself well known throughout this area as a W.C.T.U. lecturer, evangelist, woman's suffrage leader, and supply preacher. Her sisters say that she knew Frances E. Willard early in life and that Miss Willard always had an important influence in her life, through advice and counsel.

⁷ *Who's Who in America, 1916-1917*; correspondence with Mrs. Morrell, Aug., 1941; clippings received.

⁸ Mrs. Morrell lists the following schools: Appleton Academy, N. H.; Ipswich Academy, N. H.; diploma from a school in Farmington, Mass.; diploma from normal course at Chautauqua, N. Y.; several short courses at Moody Bible Institute, Chicago Theological Seminary; diploma in languages from school of oratory and home courses, University of Chicago; Ph.B. and A.M. from Illinois Wesleyan University; Ph.D. from Creal College, Creal Springs, Ill.

Those who knew Mary Moreland best declare that in childhood she realized that God had a special work for her to do, and when fifteen years old, the pastor of her church placed his hand on her head and said: "You are called to preach the Gospel. Do not be afraid of hindrances, the way will open up." She is ranked, in her obituary, "with the famous Anna Howard Shaw as a woman preacher and leader."⁹ As the first ordained woman in any Congregational church, Miss Moreland was honored by being a delegate to the World's Congress of Religion held at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893.

Many of the Wyand people still remember Miss Moreland, for she was a friend to all children. A fine appearing, magnetic woman, full of energy, she gave always of her best in kindly understanding to church and town people, and so endeared herself that attending her church became a pleasure. Her pulpit personality was made outstanding by the scholar's gown which she always wore during church services, an unusual custom for that day in small communities, but one which added to her dignified charm.

She found time to write four books during her busy life of service: *Which, Right or Wrong?* for children; *The School House on the Hill*; *Under His Wings*; and *The Flag of the Free*, which went to press in 1918, just after her death.

Dr. Fagley furnishes references of other women ordained in the ministry. Such attainments apparently reached high popularity in 1893, for the records mention women ministers ordained in various towns of New York, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, South Dakota, and Michigan, several of whom were in pastoral charge of Congregational churches. Walker, in his *American Church History*, mentions the first woman ordained in a Congregational church but the date he gives is nearly five years after Miss Moreland's ordination. He says: "On February 14, 1894, the first ordination of a woman over a Congregational church in New England occurred at Littleton, Mass., the first settlement of a person of her sex effected by a council in the history of American Congregationalism."¹⁰ He apparently knew nothing of Miss Moreland's ordination.

⁹ Anna Howard Shaw was a Methodist Protestant minister, ordained in 1880 in the East, after having been refused ordination in the Methodist Episcopal church, because of sex. Also a suffrage leader. See *International Encyclopedia*.

¹⁰ Williston Walker, *A History of the Congregational Churches in the United States* (*American Church History Series*, Vol. III, New York, 1916), 425.

Since official records and dates in the Congregational national headquarters do not furnish information on any ordained woman minister before the date recorded for Miss Moreland's ordination, the claim can apparently be justified that Mary L. Moreland, ordained July 19, 1889, in Wyanet, Illinois, was the first woman to have been ordained in any Congregational church in the United States.

RUTH EWERS HABERKORN.

PRINCETON, ILL.

"AS OTHERS SEE US"

Last fall the Secretary of the Society received a letter of resignation from a member, coupled with a demand for a refund of the unused portion of the year's dues. The letter was so vituperative in content, and so unusual in orthography, that he thought it might be worth publishing, and with that in mind he asked and received the writer's permission to use it. On reflection, however, he decided that publication would serve no good purpose, and thought no more about it.

This spring the former member rejoined the Society, and then demanded that his earlier letter be published. The Secretary complies—not because the correspondence deserves publication, but because he himself is tired of receiving semi-literate communications on the subject, and knows no other way to put an end to them.

BLUFFS, ILLINOIS.

About forty days before Christmas.

Hon. Paul M. Angle, Sec. I.H.S.

Springfield, Ills.

MY DEAR SIR:—

Please be so kind as to scratch me of the rostrum of the Illinois H.S. And send me the pro-rata for the time I wont get no history.

I aint going to be associated with a gang of rams heads headed by an omniverous pervaricator like you.

I dont think I am losing anything historically or culturally in doing this, for the reason I saw in a late issue of the Journal, that you and [name deleted] had cut out vulgarity. I always flourished on vulgarity. Inherited it from my "OLD PAP" who could enjoy a, "RISKE STORY". What a man inherits you know he should not be blamed for. "RISKE" of course you know is French for vulgar,

sounds nicer, dont grate on your ear like vulgar. Excuse me for criticising you.

Any way I would sooner be vulgar, and tell the truth, than non-vulgar, and put over such a damd stall as you did when you celebrated old Dr Chandlers resurrection a little while ago at Virginia. You said Abe Lincoln was a Judge in the 8th. Illinois Circuit Court District. A man must have a damd thick history skull, and think his auditors jack-asses and ignoramuses, to tell that as the head of the Illinois Historical Society.

Then you threw a bouquet at yourself and said, "I make history every time I meet".

Next time you had better put Abe down as an, "Old Hard-shell" preacher. It would go better with your learned members.

You have given me a lot of advice, which I took because I had to. Now I am going to give you some. You can take it or not, just as you damd please. Here it is with no charge.

When you get this letter in your sanctum sanctoricum where YOU, [*name deleted*], and Dr. and god make history, after you read it, hang it upon the wall, and when some HIGH BROWED scholar comes in to get a jag of your Chandlerville history you can point to it and say, "Look at this high class letter from Scott County, IN THE STATE OF ILLINOIS.

Yours Cooperatively.

C. C. CARTER.

Bluffs, Ills.

P.S. Dont fail to send the pro-rata. I need the money.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

THE HIGH COST OF ENTERTAINMENT

Capn Abner Prior

To Jno Rice Jones Dr

for the following Effects furnished four Chiefs and 25 warriors of the Sac & Fox nation during their Stay in Kaskaskias, waiting an answer to their Speech, requesting you to take them to see their father Washington.—

1794		Drs Dimes Cts		
May	24	To 2 Shirts a 2 Drs is 4 & 2 Blankts a 4 is 8 is	12	0 0
		To 1 lb Vermillion 4 & 2 Bott Taffia 2 is..	6	0 0
	25	To 14 Galls Liquor 5 & 2 Bus Corn 2 is...	7	0 0
	29	To 3 Do on arrival of three other Chiefs...	12	0 0
		To 100 lbs Salt Beef without Bones.....	10	0 0
		To 2 Bushels Corn.....	2	0 0
July	3	To 1½ Galls Liquor.....	6	0 0
	4	To 30 lbs Beef.....	3	0 0
		To 4 Quarts Liquor 4 & 10 lbs powder for their voyage to Vincennes.....	14	0 0
		To 10 lbs Lead is 1 & 5 Knives a 1 is 5 is..	6	0 0
		To 2 fire steels 4 Dimes & flints 1 Dr is....	1	4 0
		To paid House Rent during their Stay....	4	0 0
	5	To 1 Quart liquor 1 & 30 lbs flour 1: 8....	2	8 0
	6	To 1 Quart do.....	1	0 0
		To liquor given them each morning during their Stay 1 Quart, making in all 12 Days and 12 Bottles is.....	12	0 0
Dollars....			99	2 0
		To 2 Do Do to Ducoigne.....	2	0 0
Carried over.....			101	2 0

"OLD PARR" OF INDIANA

David Wilson, Centenarian

This singular individual was one of the earliest emigrants to Kentucky. From the time of his settlement in the country, till within a few years past, he resided a few miles South of Port William, at the mouth of Kentucky River, on the waters of Mill Creek. The place of his abode, and his style of living, are not more remarkable, than the character of the individual himself; and all I could learn of, and concerning him, is in perfect harmony and good keeping. The habitation in which he spent so many and happy days, was composed of round poles and Kentucky mud. It consisted of two apartments simply, with no out-house or cellar. During his residence in this singular place of abode, he became the husband of five wives, and the father of forty-six children.

According to his own account of himself, he was born in New Jersey, in the year 1728. He is in height about five feet six inches. His muscular frame and strength of constitution, seem to have defied the decay of years, or the hardships and buffetings of a backwoods life. The scientific and curious have examined the conformation of this singular being, so far as practicable, and they represent his ribs unlike those of his fellow mortals, separate and distinct, but as united together, forming on each side a solid sheet of bone; in short, that the vital part is safely deposited in a "strong box," defying all attacks of foes from without.

At the age of ninety-six, he was in the enjoyment of entire health; his teeth all sound, his weight about 160, and his muscular strength truly astonishing. He never shook hands with an athletic man, but he gave him such a gripe that he was fain to beg for mercy. At that advanced age, he could perform more labor than ordinary men could in the prime of life. His neighbors mention as a proof not only of his good constitution, but of his undiminished activity, that at his advanced age he could leap from the ground, and crack his feet together, with the agility of a boy of sixteen.

Some five or six years since, he removed to Indiana, there to build himself a new habitation, plant a new colony, and become the father of a new race. He is now living near Versailles, Ripley county, Indiana, with his sixth wife, and has two children of the new stock.

Illinois Monthly Magazine, Jan., 1831, p. 191.

THE ORIGIN OF "TWO BITS"

In the land of the puritans, where every cent of a livelihood is wrung out of the flinty soil by the sweat of the brow, the shrewdest calculation is necessary to obtain a competence, and a cent assumes an importance in business transactions, which astonishes a western and southern man. Every thing here is conducted on an enlarged scale. In times of prosperity, money flows freely, and no man, be he in ever so moderate circumstances, stickles for a trifle of change in a bargain. It is considered decidedly mean. In the same spirit, nothing less than a fourpence ha'penny is in use, as change—called in the language of the country a "*picayune*," and generally abbreviated to "*pic*." Thus, "one pic," "two pics," etc. The next smallest piece is a "*bit*." Any piece of silver larger than a "*pic*," and smaller than a quarter dollar, is a "*bit*," and passes at the value of eight to the dollar, or twelve and a half cents. Dimes are called "*short bits*," but pass at the same value of a "*long bit*," or twelve and a half cents; and so a half dime for a "*picayune*." It seemed passing strange to me, at first, and very much like a species of swindling, when, having purchased ninepence worth of any thing, to receive in change for a dollar, but seven dimes—seventy cents,—thus making—on board the boats—thirty cents for a tumbler of small beer! But I was too wise to demur, and I soon found that my dime would purchase me as much of any good thing as a "*long bit*."

A. D. JONES, *Illinois and the West* (1838), 157-58.

COSTUME FOR BICYCLERS

For comfortable and safe [bicycle] riding a suitable attire is necessary, the object being to avoid anything that is apt to be caught by the machine. Men are obliged to tie a string around the lower ends of their trousers above the ankles, or to use the convenient steel bands made for the purpose. But it is certainly more convenient, and presents a better appearance, to wear breeches that only descend to the knee, and to cover the leg with tight-fitting stockings or leggings. The upper part of the body should be covered with a garment exposing as small a surface as possible, be it a buttoned coat or a so-called "*sweater*." The shoes should preferably

be low-cut and have transverse furrows in the soles for a better adaptation to the pedals.

But how should women be dressed for bicycling? The usual long skirt is objectionable in every respect. It impedes the free movement of the legs, pumps air up against the abdomen, and is in great danger of being caught by projecting parts of their own machines or those of other riders, as well as by other obstructions found on the road. To avoid these inconveniences many women have shortened their skirts, and some have done away with them altogether, wearing so-called "bloomers," a wide bifurcated garment extending from the waist to the knee. This garment, combined with a waist and leggings, forms a neat, practical dress for a woman rider. True, it is at present ridiculed and even condemned by some as immodest. However, before men say anything against the decency of bloomers, they had better reform their own trousers, which are not much more decent than becoming; and since a bathing costume—allowing the lower limbs from the knees to the tips of the toes to be exposed in tight-fitting stockings—is admitted by every one as a proper costume for a woman to appear in on a beach frequented by hundreds of lookers-on of both sexes, it is hard to understand what objection there is in the name of modesty against a piece of wearing-apparel that by its wide proportions entirely hides the outlines of the body.

The Forum, Jan., 1896, 583-84.

PIONEER PIGS

Pigs are numerous, being easily raised: they are of various sorts; but many of them are of a sandy colour, and some with wattles; that is, a piece of flesh, about two inches long and half an inch thick, growing out on their cheeks. They are of middling size, but from very hard keep, they do not rise to much weight. It is not uncommon for one person to have from sixty to a hundred running in the woods, and left to shift for themselves, except giving them now and then a little salt. During the summer, when grass and herbs are dry, and before the masts begin to fall, it is almost impossible to describe how excessively poor they are. Most of them

run till they are two, and sometimes three years old, before they are killed; and, in general, they have but little fattening. Some years, when there is a large quantity of acorns, hiccory-nuts, &c., they are said to get good pork. A hog of two hundred lbs. weight is here called a *fine chunk of a fellow*, and few exceed that weight; though many, if well kept and made fat, would weigh three hundred lbs. weight, and some of them are large enough to weigh four hundred lbs. weight. They do not, in general, produce many at a time; I do not recollect I ever saw more than nine, and this number is very unusual. We frequently lose some, as the bears and wild cats make free with them. Many of the Americans tie a bell round the neck of one of their old hogs, to keep the gang, as they call it, together. It is also common to bell horses and cows, when running at large. The price of pigs varies very much: it is generally very low; but much dearer in September and October than in any other part of the year, as the masts are then near falling. Pork last year from four to five dollars per hundred lbs. weight, which, on an average, is less than two-pence halfpenny a lb.; and in Indiana it was cheaper than with us. Pigs are generally killed by the seller, and after they are scalded, they are carried to the buyer, as it is very difficult to drive wild pigs in a country like this. And as to the fattening bestowed on them, it only enables them to run much faster than ever they could before.

JOHN WOODS, *Two Years' Residence . . . on the English Prairie, in the Illinois Country* (1822), 184-87.

NEWS AND COMMENT

In the year 1837 Martin Van Buren was inaugurated President of the United States; widespread industrial panic seized the country; Texas petitioned for annexation to the United States; Samuel F. B. Morse successfully demonstrated his electric telegraph; Elijah P. Lovejoy, anti-slavery editor of Alton, Illinois, was murdered by a mob; William Lyon Mackenzie attempted to set up a revolutionary government in Canada; and Zachary Taylor defeated the Seminoles at Okeechobee Swamp. All these events, and others, were reported in the newspapers of the day, and aroused more or less comment.

In that same year, in the quiet little village of Grand Detour, Lee County, Illinois, John Deere, a blacksmith lately removed from his native Vermont, sheathed a plow with an old steel saw blade. No newspaper reported the incident; no one, outside the immediate neighborhood, commented on it. What Deere had done, however, was as far-reaching in its consequences as any of the great occurrences of 1837, for his was the first plow that would scour in the heavy black loam of the incredibly fertile prairies.

On Deere's invention were based an agricultural revolution and a great Illinois industry, outlined in *The Story of John Deere*, by Darragh Aldrich. The book, appealingly written, and beautifully printed and illustrated, was published in tribute to the memory of John Deere by his grandson, Charles C. Webber of Minneapolis.



In spite of the fact that *The Sangamon*, by Edgar Lee Masters,¹ is one of the latest volumes in the Rivers of America Series, it has little to do with the Sangamon River. To be sure, the slow meandering stream is sometimes seen in the background, but the center of Mr. Masters' interest is Menard County, where he lived as a boy. Of the men who have lived in his memory—William H. Herndon,

¹ Farrar & Rinehart, \$2.50.

Lincoln's law partner; Bill McNamar, the Sandridge idiot; John Armstrong, brother of Duff, whom Lincoln cleared of a murder charge; "Slicky Bill" Greene, Menard County's leading citizen; Squire Masters, his own grandfather; and many another—he writes gently and with nostalgic charm. Out of their lives and out of his own he creates a picture of an America—simple, quiet, untroubled—that survives now only in faint replicas hidden in almost forgotten byways.

Of course there is history too—history which is concerned with the early Indians; with New Salem, where Lincoln and Mentor Graham and Ann Rutledge lived; with steamboat captains who charmed themselves into the belief that the Sangamon was a navigable stream; with Springfield and Decatur, the largest cities of the valley—but it is history told briefly and informally. Essentially, *The Sangamon* is a personal book—Masters' evocation of the well-remembered days of his own youth.



By one of those coincidences that happen surprisingly often, two novels on the same theme—the Mormons at the time of their residence at Nauvoo—were recently published almost at the same time. One is *A Little Lower Than the Angels*, by Virginia Sorensen,² the other is *And Never Yield*,³ by Elinor Pryor.

A Little Lower Than the Angels is the story of a Mormon family living in Iowa, across the Mississippi from Nauvoo, from 1840 until the departure of the Saints for the Great Salt Lake in 1846. The Mormon leaders, especially Joseph Smith, figure prominently in the book, and the violent disorders which marked the last years of Mormon residence in Illinois are realistically pictured. The author's theme, which is developed with sympathy and discernment, is the effect of plural marriage upon the first wife.

And Never Yield begins in 1838, with the bloody lawlessness in Missouri that led to the migration of the Mormons to Illinois, and ends with the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. In this novel, too, Joseph Smith and Brigham Young play active parts, and the history of the period is made clear. Plural marriage also becomes

² Knopf, \$2.75.

³ Macmillan, \$2.75.

a major theme, but in *And Never Yield* the two wives eventually make a harmonious adjustment, while in *A Little Lower Than the Angels* the second marriage brings disaster.

In portraying the Mormons, neither author praises nor condemns, and the non-Mormon reader who begins these novels uncertain whether Joseph Smith and Brigham Young were saints or charlatans will not have his doubts revalued. He will be impressed, however, with the tremendous hold these men had upon their followers, and he will also have a keener appreciation of the human suffering that marked the Mormon occupation of Nauvoo. Both books are mature pieces of fiction, interesting for their treatment of complex psychological problems as well as for their development of historical background.

Readers curious about the Mormon practice of plural marriage will find an objective study in *Desert Saints*, by Nels Anderson,⁴ who devotes a chapter to the social implications of polygamy as it was practiced in Utah. While *Desert Saints* is mainly an account of the Mormons after their exodus, the first two chapters are devoted to a concise history of the sect from its origin to the expulsion of the Latter Day Saints from Illinois.



Sixty-one years ago Henry Ericsson came to Chicago from Sweden. Though only twenty years of age, he was an experienced bricklayer and mason. He quickly found work, to which he applied skill, industry, and intelligence. In a few years he was a member of the partnership of Lanquist and Ericsson, builders; after its dissolution he headed the firm of Henry Ericsson Company, general contractors. *60 Years a Builder*,⁵ a generous volume of nearly 400 pages, is his autobiography.

As a builder, Henry Ericsson worked on many of Chicago's most famous structures—the Manhattan and the Monon buildings, the Pittsfield Building, the Continental Illinois Bank Building, the Hibbard, Spencer and Bartlett Building, to mention only a few. He tells the story of these and much more besides, for his narrative leads him into the history of important technical developments—

⁴ University of Chicago Press, \$4.00.

⁵ A. Kroch & Son, Chicago, \$3.50.

fire-proofing, caisson foundations, steel frame construction, reinforced concrete—and also into the history of Chicago and its industries. The knowledge which he acquired by being in the thick of things is immense, and he has been at pains to search out and record much that happened before his time. His account of the work of John M. Van Osdel, Chicago's first great builder, is especially interesting.

60 Years a Builder is an interesting account of a valuable life, and a substantial contribution to the history of the city in which that life was spent.



Publishers believe that a good book will find its audience, even though it comes from the press of a small town printer and has to make its way without benefit of a penny's worth of advertising. One ventures the prophecy that a little book recently published by the Illini Union Bookstore of Champaign will offer evidence to support the theory. Entitled *On the Banks of the Boneyard*,⁶ it consists of the student reminiscences of Charles A. Kiler, University of Illinois, '92. Part I is an account of student escapades and fracas, zestfully written; Part II covers the author's experiences while managing a Chicago hotel during the World's Fair of 1893 and, later, working as a book agent; and both are supplemented by a fine selection of early University of Illinois photographs.

Mr. Kiler has long been known as one of the University of Illinois' most ardent alumni; this book should establish his reputation as his Alma Mater's most entertaining author.



Any study of the land-grant college movement is bound to be of interest to Illinoisans for at least two reasons: first, because it is very generally believed that the influence of Jonathan B. Turner and his fellow-enthusiasts was of decisive importance in the agitation, and that the Morrill Bill was the legal embodiment of their ideas; and second, because the land-grant movement led to the establishment of the University of Illinois, the giant educational institution of which the state is justly proud.

⁶ Illini Union Bookstore, \$1.00.

Democracy's College: The Land-Grant Movement in the Formative Stage, by Earle D. Ross,⁷ should, therefore, be welcomed by anyone interested in the educational history of Illinois, although the author's conclusions will doubtless serve to cool local pride. The Turner claim, under objective analysis, comes up with little support. Turner and his friends were effective propagandists for "industrial" education, but they were by no means alone in their activities. Moreover, there is nothing to show any direct connection between Turner and Morrill, and until better evidence is produced, credit for the legislation must go in the main to the latter. Even Lincoln is denuded of the credit often accorded him, for Mr. Ross finds that the President signed the Morrill Bill as a matter of course, giving neither it nor the subject of industrial education any special consideration.

Of course *Democracy's College* covers a much broader field than the foregoing paragraph indicates. A careful, documented study of American industrial education from the days of its first protagonists until the 1880's, when the land grant colleges achieved stability, it should clear up many misconceptions about this important phase of higher education in the United States.



The Methodist Movement in Northern Illinois, by Almer M. Pennell,⁸ is a compilation rather than a connected narrative, but its component parts give a detailed account of the beginnings and growth of the Methodist Church in the northernmost quarter of Illinois. There are narratives of the Methodist movement in northern Illinois from its first feeble beginnings to the present, accounts of all the Methodist institutions in the Rock River Conference, brief histories of the sixteen Conference churches founded before 1840, and descriptions of camp grounds, institutes, and other organizations. The book is replete with historical data, but the lack of an index is a serious disadvantage.



⁷ Iowa State College Press, Ames, \$3.00.

⁸ The author, 7350 Jeffery Blvd., Chicago, \$1.00.

Rockford Streamlined, by Ford F. Rowe,⁹ is a new publication both distinctive and historically valuable. First of all, it is a topical history of Rockford—the city itself, its major industries, municipal life in all its phases—which is supplemented by a detailed chronology extending from 1829 to 1941. Along with the main text runs a narrow column in smaller type into which Mr. Rowe has packed statistical information, little editorials, and odds and ends of all descriptions. And there are hundreds of illustrations showing Rockford today and in the past. "A mine of information" is a trite description of a book, but it is one that fits *Rockford Streamlined* to perfection.



In *The Diaries of Donald Macdonald*¹⁰ the Indiana Historical Society has brought out as interesting and valuable a travel narrative as one is ever likely to find. Captain Macdonald, of Edinburgh, Scotland, visited the United States in 1824-1825 and again in 1825-1826, his destination on both trips being New Harmony, Indiana. On the first trip he spent ten days in the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois, and also visited Shawneetown, Mt. Carmel and other Illinois villages in the vicinity. His observations were detailed and seemingly accurate, his comments shrewd. For a picture of many places of importance in the United States of the period, one can ask for nothing better than that which his diaries afford.

Mrs. Caroline Dale Snedeker, a great-granddaughter of Robert Owen, became interested in family stories of Donald Macdonald and undertook a search which finally led to the discovery of the original diaries among Macdonald family papers in County Carlow, Ireland. A photostatic copy is now in the Indiana State Library. In this printing, the original text has been followed, but there are no annotations and no index.



Louise Phelps Kellogg, senior research associate of the Wisconsin Historical Society and outstanding authority on the history of

⁹ The author, Marlborough Ap't., Kalamazoo, Mich., \$1.00.

¹⁰ Indiana Historical Society Publications, Volume 14, Number 2, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, 75 cents.

the Old Northwest, died in Madison, Wisconsin, on July 11. Miss Kellogg was graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1897 and received her Ph.D. degree from the same institution in 1901. She also studied at the Sorbonne in Paris and at the London School of History and Economics. The honorary degree of Litt.D. was conferred on her by the University of Wisconsin in 1926 and that of L.H.D. by Marquette University in 1937.

Miss Kellogg was the author of numerous books and monographs and editor or co-editor (with Reuben Gold Thwaites) of other important works, among the latter the *Early Western Travels* series. She also contributed many articles to the *Dictionary of American Biography*, *Dictionary of American History* and the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. She was a member of the American Historical Association, a fellow of the Royal Society of London, and a charter member of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association which she served as president in 1930.



Over three hundred people attended the banquet given by the Boone County Historical Society in Belvidere on June 17 for members of the 75-Year Club. One hundred and seven of those present qualified as members of the Club—either residents of Belvidere the last seventy-five years or natives of Boone County seventy-five or more years old.

John H. Hauberg of Rock Island, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, made the principal address. Speaking of the importance of preserving records for posterity, he said:

What historical events have occurred here within your memory? Write them down. How did the old ways change to the new around these parts? Write it down. What was done yesterday, what is being done today, what is planned for tomorrow? Write it all down. Let every man, over seventy-five or under, write down his experiences for posterity to read. Let those of eighty or ninety write theirs or, better yet, let some one write them down for them. But get them written. Such records will be a priceless heritage for generations to come.

The program also included an address, "Historical Sketch of Boone County," by Harold Sewell; a square dance staged by John Oberholser, Mrs. Melvin Taylor, Mr. and Mrs. Chauncey Starr,

Mrs. William Rasmussen, Mrs. Peter Radigan, and Gus Berg, with Frank Burton calling the dance; several old songs played on the bones by William Bowley; orchestra music by Mr. and Mrs. Gerard Swail and three daughters; songs by a quartet composed of Mr. and Mrs. William Rasmussen, Mrs. C. L. Miles and Roy E. Moss; solos by Miss Blanche De Wolf. Several reels of films showing sites of historical interest in Illinois were shown by Mr. Hauberg at the close of the program. Community singing was led by Walter Ray. Richard V. Carpenter, former county judge, acted as toastmaster.

The Society now has five scrapbook committees, each working on a special subject. Mrs. John Oberholser, chairman of the committee on a scrapbook of soldiers' records, has appealed to the public for more data on and photographs of men from Boone County who are now in the service.



Mrs. Margaret T. Grove, Princeton, was re-elected president of the Bureau County Historical Society at the annual meeting on June 1. Other officers include: Miss Grace Bryant, vice-president; Ward Schori, secretary; F. S. Fowler, treasurer; T. A. Fenoglio, custodian. Five directors, to serve during the next three years, include: Miss Grace Bryant, E. F. Norton, B. N. Stevens, Joe Hawks, and Mrs. Eva Howard. The following persons have been appointed to serve as committee chairmen: Mrs. H. M. McKee, museum; T. A. Fenoglio, historical data and records; Ina S. Hoover, relic research; Mrs. Ruth E. Haberkorn, publicity; Mrs. C. G. Heck, educational program; and Lawrence E. Deets, membership.



At a garden party at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Homer N. Little, East St. Louis, on June 22, the new officers of the Cahokia Historical Society were installed. These include: Mrs. William H. Matlack, president; C. F. Gergen, first vice-president; John Trendley, second vice-president; Mrs. S. Schmulbach, secretary; and Mrs. Nell Walsh Barnes, treasurer.



The sixth annual meeting of the Englewood Historical Association (Chicago) was held on May 26. Colored lantern slides de-

picting significant events and landmarks in Englewood's early history were shown by Mrs. John Van Valkenburgh. Raymond S. Blunt spoke on "Possibilities of the Junior Historical Association," and the Reverend C. Emil Bergquist gave an address on "Looking Ahead in Englewood." Dr. Jules Karlin awarded pins to officers of the Junior Historical Association. George Gordon led community singing. Willis E. Tower, president of the Association, was in charge of the business session which preceded the program.



Students from five West Side high schools in Chicago took part in a historical quiz program at the annual spring meeting of the West Side Historical Society (Chicago) on May 10. Otto Eisen-schimi was the quiz master and Pearl I. Field awarded the prizes. The meeting was opened with an introductory address by T. H. Golightly, president of the Society.



The history of West Salem was the subject of discussion at the May meeting of the Edwards County Historical Society. The Reverend R. J. Grabow of the West Salem Moravian Church read a paper on the Moravian settlement at West Salem.



An unusually attractive folder has been printed by the Evanston Historical Society to acquaint prospective members with the activities and purposes of the Society. Generously illustrated with photographs of early buildings and landmarks in Evanston, and with a historical map of Evanston, it should be an effective means of obtaining new members and renewing the interest of old ones. Anticipating its needs before moving into the Charles G. Dawes home which it is to share with Northwestern University, the Evanston Society is making an effort to double its present membership. Circulation of this folder will undoubtedly help the Society to achieve its goal. Officers of other local societies who may be interested in similar methods of publicizing their own organizations should write to the Evanston Historical Society for copies of this circular.

The Galena Historical and Museum Association has elected the following officers for the coming year: Mayor I. L. Gamber, president; Mrs. H. L. Heer, vice-president; Marie LeBron, secretary; Howard Redfearn, treasurer; Mrs. William Weber, manager; Dr. R. E. Logan, J. W. Westwick, J. Henry Grimm and Louis A. Nack, members of the executive board.

New articles are constantly being placed on display in the Galena Historical Museum. Several exhibits of the works of Julia Braken Wendt, whose death occurred recently, have been added to the collection. Funds are needed for the support of the museum and for this reason a special effort is being made to increase the membership of the Society. Dues are \$1.00 annually.



When the Glencoe Historical Society held its annual meeting on May 25, the following papers were presented: a history of Fort Sheridan by John Jeffrey, a memorial to the late August Ziesing by Albert O. Olson, and a history of the Glencoe Woman's Club by Mrs. Harry T. Booth. The following officers were named: Albert O. Olson, president; Mrs. Harry T. Booth, vice-president; Miss Ethel Jeffrey, secretary; Charles A. Saxby, treasurer; and Miss Helen Beckwith, custodian.



A program of monthly picnic meetings was planned by members of the Kankakee County Historical Society during the past summer. At the June meeting, J. C. Bunker of Manteno gave an informal talk on the earliest Indian.



A decision to invest \$1,000 from the legacy of the late Judge Colostin D. Myers in war bonds was made by the directors of the McLean County Historical Society at their meeting in July. The autobiography of Judge Myers, written in his own hand, has recently been acquired by the Society. Mrs. Doris Maddux is the new custodian and librarian for the organization.

The McLean County Historical Society does not have an authentic Grand Army of the Republic coat and hat in its large col-

lections of Civil War and post-Civil War relics and archives. This fact was revealed when the Longfellow Club of Bloomington staged a post-Civil War play, in which an authentic coat and hat were needed. Campbell Holton, Bloomington business man appearing in the play, was forced to improvise a G.A.R. hat, using an old hat trimmed with gold curtain cord. An authentic G.A.R. coat was later found, however, and loaned to Mr. Holton for use in his part. The McLean County Historical Society has many military clothing items, such as a Spanish-American soldier's complete outfit, and numerous "tin hats" and other articles worn in the First World War. This Society would appreciate the gift or loan of a genuine G.A.R. coat and hat.



A cement marker with bronze plaque was dedicated to the memory of Enos M. Matson of Bureau County on June 21. Located at Matson's Corners in Dover Township, on land which has been in the Matson family since 1846, the monument commemorates the services of Enos Matson in surveying and working the first dirt roads of the township.

At the dedicatory exercises the principal address was given by Senator T. P. Gunning of Princeton. The Reverend Leslie Matson extended greetings to visitors and Mrs. Ina S. Hoover presented a historical sketch of the Matson family. Music was furnished by the Princeton High School band.



Members of the Oak Park Historical Society invited members of the Maywood Historical Society to join them in their last meeting of the spring on May 21. Problems and achievements of the two groups were compared and future plans for research in community history were made.



George Johnson, editor of the *Peoria Daily Record*, was elected president of the Peoria Historical Society on May 18. Other officers are: Andrew R. Hoeflin, vice-president; A. R. Buis, secretary; E. C.

Bessler, treasurer; Miss Emma E. Shriner, Miss Myrtis Evans and G. R. Barnett, directors. The next meeting of the Society will be held in October.



The *Pike County Republican* commemorated its founding (June 12, 1842) by issuing a special centennial edition on June 10. Starting as the *Sucker and Farmer's Record*, the paper has been successively known as the *Pike County Free Press*, *Pike County Journal*, *Pike County Old Flag* and the present-day *Pike County Republican*. Most famous among the distinguished editors and publishers who have contributed to this century of Pike County journalism was John G. Nicolay, printer's devil, typesetter and finally editor-proprietor (1854-1856) of the *Free Press*. Nicolay's friendship with John Hay, who later collaborated with him in writing a biography of Abraham Lincoln and in editing Lincoln's works, began in the early fifties while Hay was attending an academy in Pittsfield. The present proprietor of the *Republican* is Dot Dorsey Swan, who succeeded her husband, Burr Harrison Swan, as publisher at his death in 1927.

The columns of the thirty-six page centennial edition of the *Republican* are filled with stories on all phases of Pike County history. Jess M. Thompson is responsible for assembling much of the data used in this issue. Histories of some of the pioneer families and accounts of early buildings and schools are included. Stories of Pike County's changing boundaries, its five courthouses, its "ghost towns"—the boom towns of a century ago—also appear here. Lincoln's early visits to Pittsfield and quotations from some of John Hay's *Pike County Ballads*, for which actual incidents and characters from Pike County furnished the inspiration, receive their share of space. The paper has numerous interesting photographs, some of those used in the advertisements being worthy of particular mention. This centennial issue of the *Pike County Republican* may well be listed as an important source of information for the past hundred years of Pike County history.



A tribute to the memory of Mrs. J. W. Emery was read and made a part of the record when the Historical Society of Quincy and

Adams County met on May 11. As president of the Society for a number of years, Mrs. Emery had been an active worker in directing its program.

At the same meeting, William H. Sinnock was elected president; Ernest M. Wood, first vice-president; Oliver Williams, second vice-president; Harvey Sprick, treasurer; Miss Ella Rogers, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Anne J. Wood, recording secretary; Julius Kespohl, auditor; Charles F. Eichenauer, historiographer; and L. E. Emmons, Dr. E. B. Montgomery and Walter D. Franklin, trustees.



The rustic new lounge building, Watch Tower Inn, was dedicated at Black Hawk State Park on July 19. This building was constructed of stone and wood at a cost of \$75,000. At the dedicatory exercises, Mrs. Mary Mack of Shawnee, Oklahoma, great-great-granddaughter of Chief Black Hawk, participated in the program. Walter A. Rosenfield, state director of public works and buildings, and Elmer J. Schnackenberg, speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives, also made speeches. John H. Hauberg, president of the Illinois State Historical Society and donor of the fine collection of Indian materials housed in the museum at the park, presided at the exercises.



Members of the Rock Island County Historical Society elected Henry F. Staack president at their meeting on April 24. Other officers named are: John H. Hauberg, honorary president; Miss Elsie Schocker, vice-president; Mrs. M. H. Lyon, Jr., secretary; Miss Alice Williams, treasurer; and Miss Helen Marshall, archivist. Elected to the board of directors for three year terms were: George W. Wickstrom, Mrs. Grace R. Sweeney and W. C. Lukens.



At the annual spring meeting of the Southern Illinois Historical Society, all officers were re-elected. These include: Richard L. Beyer, president; Thomas J. Layman, vice-president; E. G. Lentz, secretary;

W. Draper, treasurer; John I. Wright, archivist; Mrs. J. P. Schuh, and Clarence Bonnell, directors. Mrs. Walter Sutton was named as a new director.



The log cabin of Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Burnham, 1407 Tower Road, Winnetka, was the meeting place of the Winnetka Historical Society on June 7. Mrs. Burnham told the story of the house—how she bought the cabin, had it moved, removed clapboards to show the logs, and built several additions.

Preceding the program the following persons were elected to office for the ensuing year: Mrs. Frederick Dickinson, president; Norman K. Anderson, vice-president; Mrs. Robert S. Barrows, secretary; Miss Mildred Mack, treasurer. Trustees of the Society include: S. Bowles King, Frank A. Windes and Donald Jones. Directors are: Wallace D. Rumsey, Ralph M. Snyder and Barrett Conway. The following persons will serve as committee chairman: Miss Marion Russell, program; Mrs. Fritz Wagner, membership; Mrs. C. L. Burlingham, social; and Mrs. E. G. Trowbridge, publicity.

CONTRIBUTORS

Hermann R. Muelder is professor of History and Government at Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois. . . . Clyde Buckingham, El Dorado, Kansas, is general field representative of the American Red Cross. . . . Peter H. Olden, formerly a member of the faculty in the History Department of the College of Saint Teresa, Winona, Minnesota, is now in the United States Army.

TABLE OF CONTENTS ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

ONE HYPHENATED AMERICAN	
<i>Edith Steinbrecher</i>	321
HISTORY IN WAR TIME	
<i>H. Gary Hudson and Walter B. Hendrickson</i>	323
ILLINOIS AT WEST POINT: HER GRADUATES IN THE CIVIL WAR	
<i>George T. Ness, Jr.</i>	338
COLONEL JAMES W. STEPHENSON: GALENA PIONEER	
<i>Jeanne LeBron</i>	347
HISTORY OF THE ILLINOIS SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF	
<i>Minnie Wait Cleary</i>	368
HISTORICAL NOTES	
<i>James Taft Hatfield</i> , "The 'Abraham Lincoln House' in Evanston, Illinois".....	390
<i>Lorene Martin</i> , "The Carl Beane Chandler Cenotaph".....	393
<i>Albert Post</i> , "Lincoln and the Reverend Dr. James Smith".....	397
THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK.....	400
NEWS AND COMMENT.....	404
CONTRIBUTORS.....	417

ILLUSTRATIONS ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

THOMAS H. OFFICER	372
THE ILLINOIS SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF ABOUT 1872	376
PHILIP G. GILLETT	380
THE RESIDENCE OF JULIUS WHITE IN 1860 WHERE LINCOLN WAS ENTERTAINED	391
PRESENT APPEARANCE OF THE "LINCOLN HOUSE," EVANSTON	392
CHANDLER CENOTAPH AT CHANDLERVILLE	394

ONE HYPHENATED AMERICAN

BY EDITH STEINBRECHER

In looking over some old family papers I have found a letter written by my maternal grandfather, Edmund Jüssen, consul general to Vienna, 1885-1889, during Grover Cleveland's administration. The letter was written to his daughter Anna (my mother, Mrs. H. H. Anderson of Chicago) in 1890, from Frankfort, Germany, where he was living the year after he had finished his term of consulship.

Edmund Jüssen was born and educated in Germany and came to America while still a very young man, at the time of the uprisings there in 1848, settling in Columbus, Wisconsin, where he married his cousin, Antoinette Schurz, sister of Carl Schurz. He was admitted to the bar at Madison, Wisconsin, in 1859. In 1862 he enlisted and joined the 23rd Wisconsin Infantry with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. Later he moved to Chicago, opened a law office, and became very active in the public life of this city. He practiced law until 1885, when he was appointed consul general to Vienna, Austria, by Grover Cleveland.

FRANKFORT A. M.
June 23rd, 1890

MY DEAR GOOD ANNA

At last, you will say, a letter from Papa. Well, my dear child, you are not an exception. So far I have only written business letters to Chicago, and although it may be neither a consolation to you

nor an excuse for me that I have established this rule by mere force of habit, you cannot justly complain of an exceptional slight. . . .

First of all I am terribly homesick. I find that I am but an indifferent German and down to the very core and from the crown of my head down and throughout my six feet of stature an unconditional American citizen. I think I was born on the day when I was naturalized in the American Republic and that my fatherland is but a myth of a vague and nebulous childhood. After more than 40 years of American life I am a stranger on the shores of the Rhine, a miserable exile yearning for home. I do not understand this people and the typical German I am sure does not understand me. We look at life and its duties and purposes from an entirely different standpoint. My countrymen—I mean the countrymen of my childhood—have no conception of the principles of human liberty and I have lost all capacity for loyalty and servility. It is almost impossible for me to breathe in an atmosphere where my tongue is fettered and free expression prohibited. I cannot conceive why military power should be the last grand aim of a people nor why the right of the civilian should be spurned and scoffed at by the fellow who drags a sword at his heels. . . .

HISTORY IN WAR TIME *

BY H. GARY HUDSON AND WALTER B. HENDRICKSON

I.

MR. HUDSON'S REMARKS

LAST spring Mr. Benjamin Fine, education editor of the *New York Times*, canvassed by means of a questionnaire the colleges and universities, professional and technical schools and teachers' colleges of this country in a survey of the teaching of American history. His questionnaire consisted of fifteen questions, which, aside from routine questions regarding the name of the college, its control, the student enrollment and the size of the freshman class, asked the number of undergraduate students in all history courses, the number of freshmen taking courses in American history and in history other than American, whether or not American history is required for admission and for graduation and whether or not American history should be a required subject for all undergraduate students with the reason for the answer. His findings were published in the *New York Times* on June 21, 1942, and were based on the returns received from fifty-six per cent of 1,225 institutions questioned. The survey brought what was to Mr. Fine the startling "fact" that in eighty-two per cent of the institutions

* The papers printed here were presented at the Annual Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society at Jacksonville, October 3, 1942. H. Gary Hudson is President of Illinois College; Walter B. Hendrickson, who spoke in place of President Clarence P. McClelland of MacMurray College, is Professor of History at MacMurray.

American history was not required for the degree and in seventy-two per cent it was not required for admission. He submitted an elaborate breakdown of his figures in the various types of institutions.

I am told by statisticians that valid results may be obtained on the basis of replies from fifty-six per cent of the institutions queried if the replies are properly distributed through the various categories. Mr. Fine, however, does not say how many replies he received from teachers' colleges, professional and technical schools and colleges and universities relative to the number to whom he sent inquiries. We do not know, therefore, whether or not one classification or another has more or less than its proper weight in the final analysis. Moreover, instead of basing his conclusions upon the answers of those reporting, he makes charges with regard to *all* colleges, universities, professional and technical schools and teachers' colleges in the United States. The fact that he makes assertions regarding *all* institutions instead of only those which answered his questionnaire and that he did not distribute his answers proportionately among the different types of institutions which reported, leads me to question the validity of his study. Technical and professional schools, for example, would naturally not require American history for graduation on the assumption that such a course would have been taken in pre-professional work. He makes the further assertion that in the last semester of the academic year 1941-1942 only nine per cent of the students in college were enrolled in courses in United States history. Since the normal college course comprises eight semesters, it is possible to conclude that seventy-two per cent of the total enrollment of the colleges is registered in courses in American

history. Even excluding the large proportion of duplications in the last figure, it is obvious that the impression which he created by his statement, namely, that only a very small minority of American students study American history is both false and unfair.

The *New York Times* on June 28 published Mr. Fine's own comments on the conclusions to which his survey had led him. I quote:

For some time past, institutions of higher learning have slighted American history, holding that the emphasis belongs at the secondary level. Various college administrators and deans have not been sufficiently concerned with this area, and accordingly, student interest has waned. Perhaps that is why less than 10 per cent of the undergraduate body was enrolled in American history classes last semester.

The nation-wide survey conducted by the *New York Times* revealed the somewhat astonishing fact that tens of thousands of college men and women are graduated each year without any knowledge of United States history. In some of the large liberal arts institutions as few as 2 per cent of the seniors who left the campus this month and last had taken any work in this field.

For all liberal arts colleges and universities combined, the survey disclosed that only 49 per cent of the seniors had taken courses in American history. The implications of these findings are evident. More than half of the students who leave our colleges are unaware of the historic background of their own country.

Some of Mr. Fine's statements in this quotation are obviously sheer nonsense. There is nothing in his questionnaire or the answers he received to support the statement that institutions of higher learning have held that the emphasis belongs at the secondary level. Moreover, there is no evidence that college administrators and deans have not been sufficiently concerned with this area and, besides, what students ever took a subject because college administrators and deans have urged them to? To say that tens of thousands of college men and

women have graduated each year without any knowledge of United States history is absurd, assuming as it does that they have no knowledge of American history unless they took a course in the subject in college. He says: "In some of the large liberal arts institutions as few as 2% of the seniors had taken any work in this field." His survey showed one such institution. Such sweeping generalizations as his last statement have no basis in fact nor in the schools of his survey, unless the only way to learn American history is by a college course in the subject.

The survey aroused a gentleman who wrote me on July 9, enclosing a copy of a reprint of the survey which he has entitled: *Should We Arm Americans with a Knowledge of the History of the United States?* the answer to which is, of course, an unqualified "Yes." This correspondent has addressed an appeal to Illinois College to use its influence "to institute appropriate and prompt action in your sphere" and goes on to say:

With the deepest respect for the opinion of those who disagree with me, I submit that in the presence of existing world conditions, it is imperative for the teaching hierarchy of America to dissipate the phobia of "indoctrination" and meet the situation boldly.

Unless those bearing the burden of responsibility for education perform the task of teaching this fact [that is, that "the United States is the principal bulwark against absolutism"], it will become inevitably the basis of political action. . . . It would be tragic if through a failure to follow constructively, the educational world invited a political assault.

I call your attention to the implied threat and ask my correspondent the difference between his position and that of Nazi Germany. Can freedom of the mind, which I have understood is one of the objects of our warfare, exist if self-appointed guardians of our youth

threaten to accomplish by political action what they may not be able to accomplish by argument?

The *New York Times* on September 13, 1942, published the remarks of Frederick A. Van Fleet, newly elected governor general of the General Society of Mayflower Descendants, recommending that the teaching of United States history be made mandatory in all colleges and universities in this country. You will note that Mr. Van Fleet does not say by whom the teaching of American history is to be made mandatory and that he wishes protection for "our democratic ideals" which are threatened, he says, not only by enemies from without but "to a considerable extent, by bureaucrats and visionaries within:"

Colleges are supposed to prepare our young men and women to be leaders in our national life. How can we hope to maintain our democratic ideals if our college-bred young folks are not required to even know what they are? . . .

We are the logical people to direct attention to the foundations of our liberty, because these foundations were laid by our ancestors of the *Mayflower*.

In another day it might seem like self-glorification for us to emphasize the fact that the Pilgrims of the *Mayflower* wrote the first charter of democratic self-government in the world's history when they penned the Mayflower Compact. Today it is a public duty. Our democratic ideals are threatened, not only by predatory enemies from without but, to a considerable extent, by bureaucrats and visionaries from within.

The *New York Times* reports that Mr. Van Fleet proposed to the members of the Mayflower Descendants that the state societies of the organization conduct a campaign to make colleges and universities conscious of the importance of American history, suggesting that perhaps a special citation could be given schools which "do give United States history its proper place."

I add one more quotation, this the final paragraph from an editorial in the *Chicago Daily News* for June 27:

The brutal truth is that our colleges and secondary schools have failed, during the two and a half decades since World War I, to prepare their students for citizenship. In their fear of being accused of "indoctrination," provincialism or narrow-mindedness, they have exposed their charges to all sorts of doctrine save American doctrine. If history is taught as it should be taught—factually, analytically, without emotion—it can not be classed as indoctrination in the opprobrious sense that educators use the term. But if the colleges have so little faith in their history departments as to choose neglect of American history rather than the possibility of indoctrinating their students, they should either assume the risk of indoctrination—or go out of business.

The allegations of the *Chicago Daily News* are simply untrue—that the colleges and secondary schools have failed to prepare their students for citizenship and that they have exposed their charges to all kinds of doctrine save American doctrine. Moreover, if American history should be taught as the *Chicago Daily News* proposes, "factually, analytically and without emotion," it would not accomplish what the proponents of more teaching of American history in our colleges desire. That object is, I take it, a passionate love of country, supported by the knowledge of our great past and confidence in our greater future.

I am speaking rather as a history teacher, myself, than as a college administrator. My first reaction to Mr. Fine's so-called survey and the various comments which it has elicited is one of irritation. The purported facts discovered are not entirely true although there is a measure of truth in the general criticism of the teaching of American history in American colleges. The comments go beyond the findings of the survey and are not supported by evidence. Underlying the whole program

are assumptions which are patently false: (1) that all students who have had the required course in American history have a knowledge of the subject and (2) that no student who has not had the required course in American history knows anything about it.

As far as I am concerned, courses in American history may be required or not. I am completely indifferent. What I am concerned about is that there shall be developed in the students in our American colleges the passionate love for their country which Pericles attributed to the Athenians. Some are greatly concerned about the ignorance of American young people in regard to facts of American history which seem elementary to many of us, but I doubt if any young man or young woman is necessarily a better citizen because he knows the arguments presented by Hayne and Webster in the great debate. On the contrary, I know of young men, even if the *Chicago Tribune* does not, whose love for their country has made them lay down their lives, although they were completely ignorant of the issues at stake in the Webster-Hayne debate. I know, also, many other young men and young women, no better informed, who are nevertheless equally ready to make the supreme sacrifice for their country.

Undoubtedly, a knowledge of American history, giving a rational basis for the faith that lies in us, is an important element in intelligent patriotism in its highest sense. Certainly courses in American history if properly taught are better than half-baked courses in so-called citizenship but there are other means of attaining this end. There are other courses which promote a love of country and an understanding of the values for which we are fighting. There is general reading which will

accomplish this purpose and there is, also, the very life in an American college and in an American community which accomplishes this end.

The teachers of American history have been challenged to face boldly the bugbear of indoctrination. If by "indoctrination" we mean the development of a passionate devotion to the spirit of America and all for which it stands, I have no fear of indoctrination. No teaching is successful unless it is done with conviction. The true teacher cannot suppress his personality in his teaching and should not do so. The schools and colleges must see to it that all their teachers are imbued with a passion for the principles for which our country stands. At the same time, we must be mindful of a caution. Indoctrination or propaganda is "effort directed systematically toward the gaining of support for an opinion or course of action." Its purpose is, one might say, to "win friends and influence people." The art of persuasion does not necessarily imply devotion to truth and there is a real danger that indoctrination may come to mean the suppression of inconvenient truths when they seem to work in opposition to an effect which we wish to create. Among our freedoms is freedom of the mind, one of the cherished objects of our battle. Surrender this, and the next step will be the definition of truth by the state or some other power. "Truth and right," said Charles William Eliot, "are above utility in all the realms of thought and action," and Charles Evans Hughes has remarked: "If progress has taught us anything, it is the vital need of freedom in learning. Perhaps this is the most precious privilege of liberty—the privilege of knowing, of pursuing untrammelled the paths of discovery, of inquiry."

The true purpose of Mr. Fine and others who have made this attack upon the teaching of American history in our colleges and universities, is to insist that we develop in the students appreciation of and a positive belief in the values of the principles of free American democracy. This object may be or may not be attained by requiring all students to take courses in American history. The fact that many colleges do not require such a course does not mean that the purpose is not accomplished. The institution of such courses does not mean that the result would inevitably follow. There is no art the practice of which may not be improved and I sincerely endorse all efforts to improve our teaching of American history and to increase the degree to which we inculcate upon American youth devotion to the principles of popular government and other free institutions which are gloriously illustrated in the history of the United States. The colleges have not been doing this task badly but Mr. Fine and others are benefactors in stimulating us to do it still better. American youth needs, in the words of the *New York Times* editorial, "a more thorough understanding of the American way of living, a deeper appreciation of the American way of living, a deeper appreciation of its magnificent past and promising future. . . . In that way, the democratic ideals and traditions upon which this country was founded can be made more secure and lasting."

II.

MR. HENDRICKSON'S REMARKS

For the last few months the teaching of American history has been under fire. The opening salvo in this barrage was shot last May 3 by Professor Allan Nevins

of Columbia University in an article in the *New York Times Magazine*.¹ He made the point that, first: "A people will always find its richest source of cultural interest in its own past. Nothing else so quickens the pulse and feeds the mind." Second, he declared: "National identity and national ideals are both rooted in history. We cannot feel that we are all Americans together unless we know how the United States came to be and grow; we cannot understand what we are fighting for unless we know how our principles developed."

Professor Nevins then presented some damaging facts to prove that these very desirable results were being denied great numbers of our high school and college students, and he advocated a reorganization of our teaching of American history in order that all of our youth, and particularly our college students, might have a "thorough, accurate, and intelligent knowledge of our national past." He suggested that this result should be attained by making American history a required course, if necessary.

A short time later, on June 21, the *New York Times* published the findings of a nation-wide survey of American history teaching in the colleges and universities.² The survey was widely circulated because it was reprinted and distributed in pamphlet form by the Macmillan Company, publishers of college textbooks, including history books. On the same day that the survey appeared, the *Times* commented editorially that "courses in the history of the United States should be required of all students in our colleges and universities. . . . To

¹ "American History for Americans."

² The statistical methods employed were not wholly sound. See B. R. Buckingham, "The New York Times' Survey of College Requirements in American History," *School and Society*, Aug. 15, 1942.

make American history a required course for mature students of college age should not appear to be an undue imposition." Other newspapers and periodicals, following the lead of the *New York Times*, editorialized in favor of requiring that American history courses should be compulsory. The *Chicago Tribune* used the heading, "Ignorance of America;"³ the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* entitled its editorial, "Something is Radically Wrong Here;"⁴ *Collier's* magazine commented upon a "Campus Scandal;"⁵ and the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* jumped into the fray with an editorial, "Our National Ignorance."⁶

From all these opinions emerged a demand on the part of laymen that we should, in this time of war, make our college students take United States history before they can be granted bachelor degrees. It is my purpose to examine the justice of this popular demand from my viewpoint as a college classroom teacher of United States history. May I say first, though, that MacMurray College does not now require American history on the part of its entering freshmen, nor of its graduates. It does, however, give students the choice of either the History of Civilization or American History to satisfy the requirement that they must have six hours of social science for the degree. The State of Illinois requires that all high school students must have a year of American history.

In the *New York Times* survey it was reported that sixty-nine per cent of the college executives who sent in replies for the survey were in favor of requiring that

³ June 25, 1942.

⁴ June 28, 1942.

⁵ July 25, 1942.

⁶ Sept., 1942.

all students take American history before graduation. On the other hand, some said that to force college students to take such a course would be doing the very thing that we condemn the fascist nations for doing; that is, indoctrinate our youth. They said that to make any course in college compulsory is a denial of the democratic system. Others pointed out that most college students have already had American history courses in grade school and high school, and what is needed in college is European history because, as Michigan State College said: "We are too provincially minded in this section already. If we are to become internationally minded there is more need of European history than American, and if American history were required it would kill our work in European and world history." These are some of the arguments that have been presented to explain the small number of college students enrolled in American history classes.

On the other side, I do not think that I need to justify to this audience the contention that every citizen should be taught American history while he is in school. Neither do I think that I need comment on the special desirability of American history courses in this time of war. I think that it is self-evident, in either peace time or war time, that the study of American history will strengthen our understanding of democracy and give us courage and confidence to maintain it, and to fight for it.

It seems clear, on the basis of the *New York Times* survey, even admitting its statistical unsoundness, that something should be done about the present policy of permitting college students to make American history an elective subject. The editorial in *Collier's* magazine

on July 25, 1942, put it this way:

Academic institutions of higher learning are supposed to give young men and women a broad outlook on life; to round them out into adults ready to take their places in the world. Yet 82% of these institutions in the United States do not insist that the students learn at least the broad outlines of the story of the country they live in.

Of course, as a teacher of American history, I believe thoroughly in my subject. Sometimes I think that I have almost a crusading zeal to give others what I have learned from American history. I want to impart to my students the greatness of the United States. I want them to be familiar with its faults as well as its virtues. Nothing would please me more than to have my classroom overflowing with students learning what America means.

But let me briefly refute some of the arguments against making United States history a required course in college. It is contended that students have had American history in elementary and secondary schools, and need no more of it. But American history is there taught on a level understandable to immature minds. Does the fact that high school boys and girls have had grammar, or mathematics, or physical education, or Latin mean that they can learn no more about these subjects in college? No, it does not; and there is much more to learn about American history than can be imparted to adolescents.

Is it more undemocratic to demand that college students should take courses in art appreciation, science, religion, English, or physical education before they can be granted a degree, than it is to require that they take American history? Hardly, I think; especially when American history *is* the study of democracy. Just to in-

sist that Americans find out what democracy is, is not "indoctrination." It is impossible to indoctrinate any American so long as we maintain the right of free speech and discuss truthfully both the successes and the failures of democracy.

Would the teaching of American history tend to promote localism and discourage internationalism? I am sure that it would not. Certainly one thing that our history teaches us is that the United States is the product of western European civilization, and that no matter how hard we have tried to dissociate ourselves from it, we have never succeeded. The student of American history soon finds that isolationism is hopeless, undesirable, and unreal.

And so I believe that courses in American history should be required of all candidates for the bachelor degree. As a practical matter I must, however, insist that this is a problem that needs careful consideration. Our teaching of American history to our youth must be integrated. Our grade and high schools must continue to teach at the highest levels that the developing minds of boys and girls can understand. For the colleges is reserved the task of presenting the history of the United States on an adult level. The college teacher of American history must face the truth of American history and teach his students the basic problems of democracy. If this is done, then we teachers can, with a clear conscience, demand that all students must take our courses.

In time of peace or in time of war, we should do everything that we can to insure that we shall have college trained leaders who are strong in the faith of democracy. In time of peace we become careless and take democracy for granted; in time of war we become

concerned for the survival of our institutions. While we are so concerned is the time to do something about it. But let us continue to do something about it in time of peace.

ILLINOIS AT WEST POINT: HER GRADUATES IN THE CIVIL WAR

BY GEORGE T. NESS, JR.

THE current emergency, with the emphasis on army training and all things military, brings to mind some of the elder sons of the Prairie State who, as professional men-at-arms, heeded the nation's call eighty-one years ago.

By the time the Civil War commenced, after the firing upon Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, April 12, 1861, fifteen men born in Illinois had been trained within the hallowed gray walls of the United States Military Academy at West Point. Of these, four were dead and another was engaged in civil activities.

By 1861, two of the fifteen had attained the rank of brevet second lieutenant, six had become second lieutenants, five were first lieutenants, while two had reached the grade of captain.

At least nine had seen active service—some in the campaigns against the Seminoles, whose oft-repeated sorties from the Everglades kept the southern frontier in a state of turmoil, others on the western frontier. The Mexican War was another conflict in which these Illinois men had served their nation.

Among those who fought the Indians in the South were Rudolph F. Ernst and Samuel F. Chalfin, and against those in the West were Samuel Kinney, Albert

G. Edwards, William P. Carlin, John O. Long, Marcus A. Reno and Ernst. In addition, Ernst and Chalfin, already mentioned, Elias K. Kane, James B. Fry and Washington P. Street had fought beneath the burning sun in Mexico, and when troops were sent to Harper's Ferry in 1859 to suppress the John Brown insurrection, Fry was there as a lieutenant of artillery and Martin D. Hardin served as an aide to Robert E. Lee.

Several of these graduates were sufficiently well regarded to be detailed to the Academy to assist in the training of the cadets. Chalfin was assistant professor of French and Spanish, and became principal assistant professor of the former, all between the years of 1854 and 1859. Fry was an assistant instructor of artillery in 1847 and again in 1853, and held the position of adjutant from 1854 to 1859.

Two Academy graduates not living during the Civil War were sons of prominent Illinois men. Samuel Kinney, class of 1830, had died at Fort Gibson, Indian Territory, in 1835, at the age of thirty. He was the eldest son of William Kinney, member of the Illinois Senate (1818-1820 and 1822-1824) and Lieutenant Governor of Illinois (1826-1830). Elias K. Kane, class of 1841, who had been captured in the Mexican War, died at Belleville, Illinois, in 1853. He was the son of Elias K. Kane, Illinois' first Secretary of State, 1818 to 1824, and United States Senator from 1824 until his death in 1835. The two other graduates of the Academy who died before the Civil War were: Washington Posey Street, class of 1847, who had died in 1852 at Camp McKavett, Texas; and Rudolph F. Ernst, class of 1841, who as a lieutenant and adjutant of the 6th Infantry fought through the siege of Vera Cruz and many other major engagements, and

died two weeks after he was mortally wounded, September 8, 1847, at Molino del Rey.

When the "opening gun" sounded the knell for the hope of peaceful settlement of the nation's problems, there were then in service from Illinois, eight lieutenants and one captain. H. W. Kingsbury, who was commissioned on May 6, 1861, raised the state's West Point contingent in the Union Army to ten.

Albert Gallatin Edwards, son of Ninian Edwards (the first territorial Governor, and later state Governor of Illinois), who had been graduated in 1832 and resigned three years later, remained in business in St. Louis, but became a brigadier general in the Missouri militia. His brother, Ninian Wirt Edwards, married Elizabeth P. Todd, sister of Mrs. Abraham Lincoln.

Samuel Fletcher Chalfin was graduated seventh in the class of 1847, with such prominent men as Orlando B. Willcox, A. P. Hill, and Ambrose E. Burnside, as well as James B. Fry and Washington P. Street of Illinois. Chalfin became a major in the Adjutant General's office and was brevetted lieutenant colonel and colonel for faithful and meritorious services in that department.

James Barnet Fry, of the same class, was born in Carrollton, Illinois, February 22, 1827, the son of General Jacob and Emily Turney Fry. He was Chief of Staff to General McDowell at Bull Run, and thereafter saw service at Nashville, Pittsburg Landing, Shiloh, and Perryville. In the controversy between Don Carlos Buell and Grant, arising out of the Battle of Shiloh, Fry was a staunch supporter of the former and his partisanship was the reason for several recommendations for his promotion being rejected. Nevertheless, when the office of Provost Marshal General of the United States was

created in 1863, General Grant recommended Fry as the best fitted officer for that important post. He was brevetted colonel for gallant services at Bull Run, brigadier general for the same at Perryville and Shiloh, and major general for "faithful, meritorious and distinguished services" in the Provost Marshal General's Department.

The class of 1850, which included in its membership such prominent men as G. K. Warren and Armistead L. Long, also graduated William Passmore Carlin who had been born in Greene County, Illinois, November 24, 1829. He was a captain when hostilities started and entered the volunteer service to become colonel of the 38th Illinois Regiment. Extensive active duty took him into the border states of Missouri and Arkansas, through the shot and shell at Stone River, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. When Sherman severed his communication with his base of supplies and set out on his "March to the Sea," Carlin was with him. High honors were received by this son of Illinois, for he was brevetted brigadier general and major general in the Volunteers, and in the Regular Army was promoted major, brevetted lieutenant colonel for gallantry at Chattanooga, colonel for the same at Jonesboro, Georgia, brigadier general for like conduct at Bentonville, North Carolina, and major general for gallant and meritorious services in the field during the war.

John Osmond Long, possibly influenced by some of his classmates in 1854, such as G. W. C. Lee, John Pegram, "Jeb" Stuart and Stephen D. Lee, resigned May 2, 1861, and entered the Confederate Army with them. He was lieutenant colonel of the 22nd North Carolina Infantry and later served on the staffs of Generals

Slaughter and J. B. Magruder. He attained the rank of colonel.

The Illinois representative in the class of 1857 was Marcus Albert Reno, born in 1835. He served in McClellan's Peninsular Campaign in Virginia and in most of the engagements of the Army of the Potomac, and was four times brevetted—major, lieutenant colonel, colonel, and brigadier general in the Volunteers—for gallantry at Kelly's Ford and Cedar Creek, and for general meritorious services.

Edward Geer Bush and Martin D. Hardin were graduated in 1859. Bush served in the field throughout the war, was a captain in the 10th Infantry at Chancellorsville, and was brevetted major for gallantry at Gettysburg where he was wounded.

Martin D. Hardin was born at Jacksonville, Illinois, June 26, 1837, the son of Colonel John J. Hardin, who was killed in the Mexican War while leading his 1st Illinois Volunteers. Martin Hardin was with the Army of the Potomac from the Peninsular Campaign, through Second Bull Run, Gettysburg, and in the Wilderness where, at Spottsylvania, he lost an arm while commanding a brigade of the 5th Corps, and in the final operations around Richmond. He had been colonel of the 12th Pennsylvania Infantry and was promoted brigadier general of Volunteers in 1864. For gallant and meritorious services he was brevetted captain, major, lieutenant colonel, colonel and brigadier general in the Regular Army.

In the class of 1860, which graduated Horace Porter, S. D. Ramseur, Wesley Merritt and Frank Huger, were three men from Illinois. They were John Jay Sweet, Cornelius Hook and James Harrison Wilson.

Sweet, a lieutenant in the 5th Cavalry, was killed at Gaines's Mills, Virginia, June 27, 1862. After having served in Burnside's North Carolina expedition, and on other fields, Captain Hook, of the 1st Artillery, was honorably discharged in 1863, for disabilities contracted in the line of duty. He died at Key West, Florida, June 19, 1864.

James H. Wilson, who stood sixth in the class of forty-one members, was probably the most prominent Illinois West Pointer in the Army. He was the son of Harrison and Katharine Schneyder Wilson and was born September 2, 1837, at Shawneetown, Illinois. It is interesting to note that his father was a native of Virginia.

Wilson's wide field of service extended from Fort Pulaski, Georgia, through the Antietam campaign, into Tennessee, the siege of Vicksburg and finally back to the Army of the Potomac. In the operations in Tennessee he had gained some fame by building bridges in record time and out of material from dismantled houses. By 1864 he had been promoted captain, brevetted major and lieutenant colonel in the Regulars, and brigadier general of Volunteers. Originally in the Corps of Topographical Engineers, he was transferred to the mounted arm and in 1864 commanded the 3rd Cavalry Division under Sheridan in his operations in the East, and was brevetted colonel for services in the Wilderness. Somewhat later he commanded the Cavalry Corps in the Military Division of the Mississippi, and was brevetted major general of Volunteers and then promoted to the same grade. Brevets to brigadier and major general in the Regular Army rounded out his long list of Civil War honors. He is, perhaps, best noted for the fact that

troops under his command effected the apprehension of Jefferson Davis, May 10, 1865, near Irwinville, Georgia.

Henry Walter Kingsbury was in the May class of 1861, with Adelbert Ames, Emory Upton and Judson Kilpatrick. He served in the Bull Run action, was with the Army of the Potomac as colonel of the 11th Connecticut Volunteers, and was mortally wounded at Antietam, September 17, 1862, and died the next day. He was the son of Julius J. B. Kingsbury of the class of 1823, and formerly major of the 6th Infantry.

Two of Illinois' sons graduated during the war—Robert Carlin in 1863, and Cullen Bryant in 1864. The former was with the Army of the Potomac, was brevetted first lieutenant and captain, and was forced to retire from active service in 1865 because of the loss of a leg and other disabilities received in action along the Weldon Railroad. Bryant, a nephew of William Cullen Bryant, famous poet and editor, was commissioned in the Ordnance Department, in which he served for the remainder of the war and many years thereafter.

When the war was over, the nation settled down to the difficult task of reconstruction, and many officers retired to civil life, but those who remained had to forego the high rank attained by brevet or in the Volunteers.

Edwards became an assistant treasurer of the United States at St. Louis and died in 1892.

Chalfin resigned as a major in 1869 to become an engineer in the Department of Public Works of New York City. He died in 1891.

The feud which had started over the Shiloh matter arose to plague Fry every time the question of his pro-

motion was presented. It flared up in Congress where James G. Blaine came to his support against Roscoe Conklin. He retired from the duties of Provost Marshal General in 1881, to do extensive writing on military matters, particularly for the excellent *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*. He lived for thirteen years after retiring.

By 1870, Carlin had been with the Freedman's Bureau in Tennessee and commanded troops in South Carolina; he then served on the frontier, became colonel of the 4th Infantry in 1882 and retired eleven years later with the rank of brigadier general. He resided at Carrollton, Illinois, but died on a railroad train in Montana in 1903.

As a major of the 7th Cavalry, Reno saw much western service under George A. Custer. He left the Army in 1880 and lived for nine years thereafter.

In 1870, as a brigadier general, Hardin retired from active service due to disabilities. After the death of his first wife, Estella Graham, in 1890, he married Miss Amelia McLoughlin. He practiced law in Chicago from 1870 to, at least, 1904.

After retiring as a lieutenant-colonel in 1870, James H. Wilson engaged in engineering work for the government, then settled in Wilmington, Delaware, where he did some writing. During the Spanish War he returned to the service and became a major general of Volunteers and a brigadier general of the Regular Army. Again, in the Boxer Uprising in China, he took up arms, and later became a major general for the third time. Included among the books written by Wilson are a number of military biographies, an account of his experiences in China, and reminiscences of his service in the Civil and Spanish wars and the Boxer Rebellion. Wilson outlived

his wife, Ella Andrews, whom he had married in 1866, by twenty-five years, and it was not until February 23, 1925, that this sturdy patriot's active career came to an end. He is buried in the city of his residence, Wilmington, Delaware.

Carlin taught at the Academy, 1865-1868, served as treasurer, 1867-1870, and later practiced law in Wisconsin and Oregon. He was deputy governor of the Soldiers' Home, Washington, D. C., from 1888 to 1891. He died in 1903. Cullen Bryant, the last of Illinois' Civil War graduates, was promoted major in 1891 and retired three years later. He died in Alameda, California, in 1909.

The state's lone Confederate West Pointer, John O. Long, died April 3, 1875, in Tampa, Florida, where he had resided for several years.

Edward G. Bush remained in service, became colonel of the 25th Infantry in 1892, and died on July 4 of that year.

Reno, Bush and Carlin had taught at the Academy after the war, while Edwards and Wilson had been members of the Board of Visitors.

In 1898, in the war with Spain, just as Wilson had responded so did other sons of Illinois, and in 1917, when the United States was again involved in war, more of her West Point trained men served beneath the Stars and Stripes. Today, when the Republic is engaged in another world conflict, Illinois' sons, both from the corridors of the Military Academy and from civil life, have sprung to arms just as their forebears who marched to battle in Union Blue so many long years ago.

COLONEL JAMES W. STEPHENSON: GALENA PIONEER

BY JEANNE LEBRON

FROM a body of letters filed with the estate papers of Colonel James W. Stephenson in the vault of the county clerk's office in Jo Daviess County, evolves an interesting story of life in Illinois during the 1830's.

James W. Stephenson was a strikingly handsome man, with a personality that quickly won him many friends. That he was talented there is no doubt, for he rose to prominence when he was much younger than his contemporaries of the Black Hawk War, Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis.

He was following the family tradition when he entered politics, for his father, General Benjamin Stephenson, a colonel in the War of 1812, had been sheriff of Randolph County under the territorial government, representative of Illinois Territory in Congress, and Register of Lands at Edwardsville.¹

Young Stephenson came to Jo Daviess County in 1828,² when he was twenty-two years old. Just what his business was during those first two years, is obscure; he might have been engaged in surveying. On June 8, 1830, he was appointed clerk of the commissioners' court to

¹ Newton Bateman and Paul Selby, *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois* (Chicago, 1901), 506-507.

² *Galenian*, Aug. 1, 1832.

succeed Abner Field,³ and he also succeeded Field as clerk of the circuit court and as county recorder.⁴

During these early years, Stephenson lived at the Galena Hotel, of which William Bennet was the proprietor. The accommodations were modest and inexpensive; board and room was \$12 a month.⁵ But it was a pleasant place. The Bennets had a young son, Redding, who was about the same age as Stephenson, and the two gathered a crowd of young men around them, especially during the Black Hawk War, when some of the officers were quartered at the hotel.

Stephenson saw the beginning of that war; he was at Dixon when Major Isaiah Stillman's men returned after the massacre at Stillman's Run, and it was he who carried the news to Galena. The bugle call summoned the citizens to the racecourse at the foot of Washington Street, and within a few minutes, Stephenson had organized a band of mounted rangers, who elected him their captain.⁶ Young men they were, most of them less than thirty, all eager for the most dangerous and exciting duty.

The company suffered its first casualty within less than a week of its organization, when William Durley, riding with a band who were carrying messages to General Atkinson at Dixon, was killed at Buffalo Grove, fifty miles from Galena in Ogle County.⁷

The battle with which Stephenson's name is always connected, occurred on June 19, 1832. Stephenson des-

³ Jo Daviess County Court Record, Book A, 1827-1834, p. 130.

⁴ Jo Daviess County Deed Book A, July 27, 1830, pp. 112-13, first record of J. W. Stephenson as clerk; *ibid.*, June 24, 1830, p. 112, last record of Abner Field as clerk.

⁵ William Benner's bill against Stephenson's estate.

⁶ H. F. Kett & Co., pub., *The History of Jo Daviess County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1878), 284.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 284.

scribed the skirmish himself in an article appearing in the *Galenian* on June 20, 1832.

ANOTHER BLOODY BATTLE CONDUCTED BY CAPT. J. W.
STEPHENSON!

At 11 o'clock A.M. an express arrived from Capt. J. W. Stephenson bringing the information that a most bloody battle had been fought in which had fallen three of our most worthy citizens and six or eight Indians. We here insert his letter.

Apple River,
June 18, 1832

Dear Sir: The night we left Galena ten more horses were stolen from this place (Apple River fort, now Elizabeth), some of them from the stables within 30 yards of the fort. I took the trail the next morning before sunrise with the command I there had with me, consisting of 12 men, together with some of the fort's number, and pursued to a point beyond Yellow Creek, about 12 miles east of Kellogg's grove, where we overtook the gentlemen. They were about two miles off when we first saw them. Before we could get within firing distance, they reached the woods. We kept close upon them for some miles, when perceiving they would be overtaken, they detached, and entered one of the largest and most difficult thickets to pass through you ever have seen. We tried every possible way to drive them therefrom, but all was unsuccessful—such as charging them on horseback, then part on foot and part on horseback, then by trying to crawl upon them. Finally I saw the only chance was to dismount and all to the charge on foot. Our boys went into the thicket like men. We got in the midst of the Indians before one fired. Here we had a pretty close fight. Although the guns on both sides were discharged frequently, there was not a single fire made at a distance of more than thirty feet from the object aimed at, either from the Indians or ourselves.

We got into such close quarters as to be constrained to use the bayonet and butcher knife. We killed five or six of the d—d scoundrels, and lost three of our own men, George Eames, S. P. Howard and Michael Lovel were shot dead. There were more Indians in this brush than I had supposed there were.

We got from them all the horses except one on which one of them made his escape. One of our horses was shot. Another was so sick that he could not be moved. When we commenced on these

boys, we were perhaps the most perfectly drowned set you ever saw, having ridden the whole day in the incessant rain. I would suggest the propriety of collecting all your mounted men and sending them to bury these dead soldiers as early as possible. I will be in in an hour or two.

Yours, Etc., Etc.

James W. Stephenson

At about 1 o'clock P.M., Capt. Stephenson with his company arrived in town, bearing two scalps which they had taken from the redskin gentlemen. The battle, for desperation, excelled anything yet heard of. They fired awhile at each other, and then Capt. Stephenson gave the order, "Charge!" When everyone obeyed as coolly as if going to a drill. The charge was made four times, when they fought with knives, spears, tomahawks, clubs, guns and bayonets. There appeared to be no yielding on either side, but it seemed that everyone was determined to conquer or die.

The force of Indians greatly exceeded ours, and both parties seemed willing to abandon the field and retire.

To give an idea how desperate they fought, we will mention one instance. An Indian had just discharged his gun at one of our men when Mr. Hood charged upon him with his bayonet. The Indian thought to frighten him by cocking his gun under the pretense of its being loaded, and aiming at him. This for a moment caused Hood to pause, when Captain Stephenson hallooed out, "Bayonet him, d——n him, bayonet him!" Upon which he ran the bayonet into his breast about 3 inches. The Indian caught the bayonet in one hand and held it from entering further, when Thomas Sublette came up, and with his knife, stabbed him in the throat and cut his jugular vein. While taking his scalp, several guns were fired on them, and many others snapped at them.

Capt. Stephenson was wounded by a ball in his breast, though it is not supposed serious.⁸

Stephenson did recover quickly from his wound, and was on active duty almost immediately. He was soon afterward elected major, and in the first part of July, was elected lieutenant-colonel of Dodge's forces, and detached to do all the scouting duty for the division.⁹

⁸ *Galenian*, June 20, 1832.

⁹ Frank E. Stevens, *The Black Hawk War* (Chicago, 1903), 209.

It is impossible to estimate fully the value of his scouting to Dodge. He and Colonel William S. Hamilton patrolled the entire field of action, riding night and day, carrying dispatches, searching out bands of marauders and thieves, reporting the movements of Indian troops.¹⁰

Stephenson did not wait to brush the dust of the campaign from his clothes before entering another fight. The *Galenian* for August 1, 1832, carried his announcement of candidacy for state senator, opposing James M. Strode.¹¹ Probably it was the urging of his comrades that encouraged him to enter the contest. However, he had left himself little time to campaign, and he was defeated. He continued during the next years as clerk of the county court, clerk of the circuit court, and county recorder,¹² but he was never losing sight of possible advancement.

On January 17, 1834, Jefferson Davis wrote to Stephenson:

Before leaving St. Louis, Mo., I authorized Mr. Hempstead of that place to call on you for whatever money you owed me, and to hold it subject to my order, intending to inform you immediately of what I had done, which of course, I wished you to understand as merely an arrangement by which, when it was convenient for you to pay it, I could receive the amount without incurring the hazard of transportation. I pursued the same course towards Mr. Bennet for whatever he might have received for the horse I left with him, and also omitted to inform him of it. Please explain to him, and give him my assurances of my friendly regard for him.

I understand some time since that you agreed that your friends should name you for an appointment in the Rgt. of Dragoons, and it would, I hope, be superfluous to assure you of my desire to be associated thus with you. Should this, however, not be the case, and

¹⁰ Stevens, *The Black Hawk War*, 181.

¹¹ *Galenian*, Aug. 1, 1832.

¹² Deed Book B, April 7, 1835, p. 88, last record of J. W. Stephenson as clerk; *ibid.*, May 1, 1835, pp. 88, 90, first record of Charles Redding Bennet as clerk.

should Michigan pass into a state government, I will look with interest to the organization of the Territory of Ouisconsin, in which you must appear conspicuously.—How is our friend Redding? Does he talk of "Tish," by the way, I wish he would get married, or become settled otherwise, for he has equally the head and the heart to be distinguished and his welfare will always be a matter of solicitude to me.

Stephenson doubtless was looking for an appointment to the dragoons, but he also had other hopes, as a letter from Augustus C. Dodge indicated. Young Augustus and his brother Henry had known Stephenson when they served with their father during the Black Hawk War. Now Augustus, in exile at school, was chafing at being excluded from the world of men in which he once had shared so completely.

My friend William Morrison has just informed me that when he was leaveing St. Louis a few days since, he heard that you had just arrived at that place in company with our friend Bennet.

When I was there last fall I engaged Creamer to make me a pair of pistols in accordance with your request. I gave him all the directions as to making them which I conceived important, not forgetting your suggestion as to the Flint Locks. He promised me to have them finished in this month. I hope he has done so. I herewith enclose you an order on him for them hoping you are still at St. Louis. If, however, you have left there, I have requested my friend Mr. Horine, who is the bearer of this, to forward it to Galena.

Knowing you will have frequent opportunitys to send for them by Steam Boats.

I hope they may be such as he promised me they would be, for I know that when placed in your hand, they will in time of need render the best service to our common country.

I see from a late *Galenian* that you have been nominated for the State Senate. If you accept the nomination and are run, I think there can be no doubt of your election, though you are well advised of the uncertainty of politicks and know how difficult it is to form a correct conclusion as to the result of an election. I think, however, that it is impossible for the people of the northern part of the state of Illinois to remain any longer insensible of or ungrateful for the

Services which you have rendered them. I hope that Henry and myself may return to the mines in time to be of some service to you.

Henry sends his best respects to yourself and Bennet. Please remember me to my friend Redding.¹³

Stephenson was also seeking an appointment as a surveyor, according to a letter from Lucius Lyon.

I received this morning your favor of the 19th ult, from St. Louis, and immediately went up to see the Secretary of War on the subject of your letter.

He remembers you perfectly, and seems disposed to give you any appointment for the survey of Indian boundaries that he can, consistently with engagements already entered into with others.¹⁴

But Stephenson dropped these efforts after his election to the Illinois Senate in the first part of August. He was appointed a member of the Internal Improvements Commission, and received many letters in regard to state constructed canals and railroads and state subsidies to private companies. One of these letters was from Lucius Lyon.

Though I have delayed until the present time to offer my congratulations on your election to the Senate of your state, I assure you that no one can do so with more sincerity than myself.

You represent a very important section of the state, and will have abundant opportunity to do much good at the coming session of the legislature. There is one subject which must be exceedingly interesting to all the northern and middle portion of the state, and in which Michigan also participates, which I hope will receive early attention. That is the construction of a railroad from Chicago to the Illinois river. The time has come when this work is wanted, and I hope it will not be delayed for another year.

I have no doubt your legislature will have the subject under consideration, but what I fear is that Governor Duncan will urge his project for a ship canal. If this should be determined on, you may rest assured it will not be finished, for the cost, I have no doubt,

¹³ Letter from Augustus C. Dodge at school near Ste. Genevieve to Stephenson at St. Louis or Galena, March 14, 1834.

¹⁴ Letter written in Washington, D.C., April 5, 1834.

will two or three times exceed the estimates, and these amount to between four and five millions of dollars.

Your better course, it seems to me, will be, at present, to appropriate the lands given by the general government to the construction of a railroad, reserving to the state the right hereafter to construct a canal if it should be thought desirable. In that event, however, it would probably be just to give the railroad company the privilege of constructing it, as it would have the effect to injure in some degree, the business that would be done on the road.¹⁵

Instead of following such advice as that of Lyon for subsidies to private companies, the legislature, yielding to pressure from constituents in all parts of the state, set up an elaborate plan for a network of railroads and canals covering the state, beginning work at many points simultaneously. Because the surveys were inadequate, the estimates were far below the actual cost of construction. A letter from William Kinney, president of the Board of Public Works, pictures the modest manner in which surveys for the railroad began.

I have purchased a waggon and two horses and am preparing other necessary apparatus to connect them with and to forward to Mr. Smith to enable him to commence operations on the Mt. C & A railroad by the first of May.

I have also employed a German, who is recommended to be a good surveyor and draftsman and well qualified to act as assistant engineer if necessary.¹⁶

Unfortunately, the money ran out when but little had been accomplished, and the taxpayers, blaming the legislators, raised such a cry that no more could be appropriated for public improvements. But all that came later.

During his first term in the Illinois Senate, Stephenson was addressed by many people who wanted many

¹⁵ Letter written in New York, Oct. 25, 1834.

¹⁶ Letter written in Belleville, April 18, 1837, to Stephenson.

things: people in St. Louis who wanted another ferry; his friend, Colonel A. G. S. Wight, who wanted to bridge the Galena River; the city commissioners of Galena, who wanted to license gambling; a friend who wanted help in locating his runaway Negro bound boy, Isaac;¹⁷ and many, many others.

One letter from his friend, William Gordon, who had also served in the Black Hawk War, is interesting for its comments on social and political customs.

I have no news of a political nature except that the friends of the administration in the legislature of this state carried everything before them. They have elected a Jackson Senator—Jackson Secretary, clerks, door keepers & speaker by large majorities.—Even the negro who makes fires in the Capitol is a warm Jackson man. We are truly a great people!!!

As a small item of private and personal concern, I have to inform you that since I saw you last, I was the bearer of a note from my friend Bowling to Wm. Brotherton, our sheriff who "tucked his tail" as they say in your state and we have both been indicted for our chivalrous doings.

Duelling is therefore as you will perceive, held in great disrepute by the "all decency party" in this state. So much for the march of intellect and diffusion of morality, which to save me from hell I can't keep pace with.¹⁸

Early in December, 1834, Stephenson made a hasty trip to St. Louis and married the charming Ellen Kyle, whom he had been courting for some time. Apparently he lost his luggage, for soon afterward he received a letter from his best man, Charles Redding Bennet.

By the stage I send your trunk together with the articles (I believe all of them) of yours left in this place. I found our saddle bags at the Michigan hotel. They had been taken there by mistake.

¹⁷ Letter from J. B. Thomas, Jr., at Edwardsville, June 10, 1835, to Stephenson. The latter himself had owned Negro bound servants, a mulatto girl, Maria, nineteen, and her son, Felix, eighteen months, whom he had sold for \$330 to John H. Rountree on May 29, 1830 (Deed Book A, p. 120).

¹⁸ Letter written in St. Louis, Dec. 6, 1834.

Your friends here are well. They speak of your taking a running start upon them in getting married so hastily and leaving the place immediately. Miss Betsy informed me she would write to her sister Ellen and suppose she can give you more news than I can. By the by, she informed me you remained on Friday at Edwardsville to attend a party at Mr. Jones. I have no doubt you had a pleasant one, and am sorry I was not there, although I attended a Cotillian party Thursday evening, but was not much amused. I usually make myself pleased at such places, but something was lacking, to give it its usual zest.

Write me soon and give me the news political or what not, news of fashions, of the amusements and of the people in their social capacity, that is, as citizens.¹⁹

Meanwhile, Stephenson's friends were enjoying a gay social season in Vandalia. George W. Campbell wrote on January 4 to tell something of the social events in Galena.

I discovered from the St. Louis [paper] a few weeks since with singular pleasure that you were married. Allow one who has always felt and wishes in this way to manifest, a sincere regard for your happiness and prosperity, to offer his unfeigned congratulations.

We have had no news of importance here. Your friends are generally well. We had a fine ball on New Years Eve—Superior to anything yet witnessed in Galena. 70 Gent and many ladies—I don't know of any weddings in agitation.

I have serious notions on that subject—and hope to communicate them ere long,—but don't exactly know who will be the subject yet. We feel anxious to see Mrs. Stephenson in Galena. I hope Mrs. Geo. W. Campbell will be here to receive her in the spring.

Dr. A. T. Crow, another friend, wrote to Stephenson on January 11.

Your friends here have learned through the Missouri papers that you are married. We presume it is so. You have wrote to no person here since that event. Are you so much absorbed in love matters that you have forgotten all your old friends?

Possibly, when the honeymoon shall have passed, you may think of Galena and some of its inhabitants. . . .

¹⁹ Letter written in St. Louis, Dec. 14, 1834.

I see we are to have a new set of judges. Who is to be our Judge? Will it affect the clerkship of this county? That matter you must arrange to our satisfaction. Your old and warm friend must not be disturbed in his office.

Good news: . . . a complete revaluation has taken place in the habits of several of your friends—in drinking, card playing &c. I sincerely hope you have turned over a new leaf, if nothing more. Everything about Galena remains pretty much as you left it. We had a very pleasant Ball—remarkably so. Good sleighing on the river. No snow, however.

Since writing the above, we have heard that Ford will be our judge. Smoker must not be disturbed. You must fix the matter.

He wrote again on February 4.

Your friends are well, general health prevails throughout the country. Winter with his mantle has made his appearance. We have fine roads and good ice sleighing is going on well in which I participate largely. Late advices from Washington, state that our friend Smoker will not be removed, notwithstanding many efforts have been made.

Our town was thrown into somewhat of a bustle on Saturday last, because some man had the temerity to cowhide one of the blue stockings—for nothing—only because the blue stocking gentleman had done the same to his son in school. Campbell and Arthur will be married shortly. I hope they may be as well pleased as yourself.

But George W. Harrison had a different account of the gossip, and a different name for Campbell's intended.

We have had a cow skinning fandango here recently. Our friend Crow some two or three days since excoriated the schoolmaster Mr. Foote for having excoriated his son Charles Crow with a very ungenteel weapon vulgarly called cow hide. It was handsomely done.—The defendant made no defense.—Campbell, Geo. W., is to be married soon to Miss Eliza Brady. Crow and Smoker both join me in sending you these compliments.²⁰

Immediately after his election to the Senate, Stephenson began seeking an appointment to the Land Office at Galena and Chicago. The first letter referring to his pos-

²⁰ Letter from G. W. Harrison, at Galena "in the counting room of Crow and Smoker," Feb. 6, 1835, to Stephenson at Vandalia.

sible appointment is from Forquer on August 16, 1834. Other letters telling of efforts on his behalf are from William L. May, John Reynolds, E. K. Kane, and Nathaniel Pope. On Christmas day, 1834, Charles Prentice wrote from Vandalia to Elias K. Kane, United States Senator from Illinois, recommending Stephenson.

Col. Stephenson has for some time resided in that section of the country in which those offices are to be located, and is deservedly popular with the people. He sustains a high character for talents, integrity & honor, and is in every respect well qualified to discharge the duties of one of those officers.

As a politician, Col. S. is open, candid and undisguised; he is a zealous and efficient supporter of the present administration and its measures, and I know of no Gentleman whose appointment would be more gratifying to the friends of the National Administration throughout the state.

Early in February, Stephenson received the appointment as Register of Lands at Galena and Chicago,²¹ although he probably did not take office until some time in April.

When he brought Ellen to Galena in the spring, he rented a house from Thomas C. Legate, former superintendent of United States Mines at Galena, and purchased furniture, including mahogany dining tables, fine linen, mahogany sideboard, a sofa, and other furniture from Legate.²² He bought a fine carriage for Ellen to use when she went calling; he already had one carriage, but it was growing shabby and dusty.²³

They drank champagne and the finest brandy at their parties, with a black servant in livery to add the final touch. Sperm candles lighted their home brilliantly.²⁴

²¹ Letter from A. T. Crow, Galena, Feb. 4, 1835, to Stephenson at Vandalia.

²² Legate's bill against Stephenson's estate for house rent, Sept. 1835 to Sept. 1836, \$250.

²³ Stephenson's estate inventory, listing a carriage at \$100, and a carriage with harness at \$200.

²⁴ Account with Hooper, Peck and Scales, 1836.

Ellen kept up on the literary topics of the day, and read such best sellers as Byron's poems.²⁵ She was dancing through her kid slippers every few nights, and having to buy new ones, together with a few artificial flowers and a new pair of gloves to brighten her costume for the next night's pleasure. Although her husband joined her strenuously in the social life, he never rested from his political duties. If he sometimes felt too great fatigue, if his cheeks were flushed and his eyes too bright, no one noticed, least of all, Stephenson himself.

In the spring of 1836, Stephenson and his colleague in the Land Office, Colonel James Evans, had an interesting letter from their old friend, John D. Winter, the mail contractor.

Allow me to give you a small scetch of the news of the day. In the first place, my own business remains yet undetermined. I mean the Land Claim. It has went the grand rounds: 1st the Commissioner (Brown) made a lengthy report and referred it to the Secretary of the Treasury. From here it was referred to the Attorney General. And from him back to the Secretary. Thence to Brown again. And is now before the President, and in all probability will be sent back to either Brown or the Attorney General, and lastly, I think the result will be that the case will be referred to the courts, and there be determined. So much for the Land Case.

The next in importance to you is the nomination of the Territorial officers, and now before the Senate: Genl Dogg [Dodge] for Governor—Charles Dunn, Chief Justice. Judge Irvin, one of the judges—Chapman District Attorney, and some frenchman in Prairie [du Chien] for Martial.

Coln. G. W. Jones arrived from Baltimore this morning and brought the news of the death of Henry Gratiot. He left this place about two weeks since, and took sick at Baltimore, and was buried yesterday 28th.

Clay's Land Bill is now before the Senate for its final passage and little doubt is entertained here of its passing the lower house. There is little doubt of General Ashley's Bill for the establishing or raising a second Regiment of dragoons passing.

²⁵ Account with Farnsworth and Ferguson, Dec. 12, 1836.

Ashley appears to be the most efficient member that is here from Missouri or Illinois. He seems to be no parti man. He goes for his constituents, and he can get any bill passed he wants.

I think I will leave this [place] on Sunday morning for home.

I will give you a mail three times a week from Peoria & Chicago as soon as I get home and make the arrangement.

Give my respects to Mr. Smoker, and tell him the weather is too warm to bring oysters.²⁶

In the summer of 1837, Stephenson began quietly to sound out the ground in regard to his possible nomination as governor. In December, he was nominated at the Democratic convention in Vandalia.

Soon afterward, the *Galena Gazette*, a Whig paper, voiced its opinion of his nomination.

In speaking of the late nominations at Vandalia, the *Galena Gazette* says, the nomination of Col. Stephenson may be received with pleasure by a few personal and political friends, but so far as we can learn of public sentiment in town and country, his nomination creates no more sensation than that of any other individual of that party would create. He will be supported with energy by his political friends and be opposed with equal vigor by his opponents—it is needless to say we shall be found a stumbling block in his way among the latter. He is looked upon by our citizens generally, as a young man of more ambition than experience, not celebrated for his superior talents as a legislator. In this view of things, will his claim be passed upon, without doubt, throughout this legislative district.²⁷

The Whigs, however, offered no serious opposition at first, since they could not agree on a candidate, as W. C. Enos wrote Stephenson in February, 1838.

I have just returned from a tour through the military tract, and took the liberty on all occasions to make enquiry as to the probable result of your election & am happy to say that I never knew a candidate more generally esteemed nor one that would unite all parties more universally than yourself. So I think there will be an over-

²⁶ Letter written in Washington, D.C., April 29, 1836, to Stephenson and Evans at Galena.

²⁷ *Sangamo Journal* [Springfield], Jan. 12, 1838.

whelming majority on the North side of the Illinois River.

I have seen several Gentlemen from the Eastern and Southern part of the state & more especially a letter from Mr. Shields, a member of our present Legislature, who all agree that you must be the successful candidate.

A whig convention assembled at this place on the 8th ult for the purpose of nominating a candidate for Congress. But '10 delegates attended. Col. Kinney and Mr. Webster appeared to be the fore front of said body & after two days session, they rose reported no progress & adjourned sine die. It is reported among the knowing ones that Col. Kinney had an aching to be nominated for Congress or for Gov. but in an incidental conversation between Col. K. and some of your friends, he said, he should dislike to oppose you for Gov. The convention was a perfect failure.²⁸

It is difficult for us today to visualize the differences between the East and the West at that time, and their consequent political differences. Several letters relating to a debt which a Galena firm owed to one in Philadelphia, clearly indicate the chasm between their business philosophies. Stephenson's brother-in-law, Hugh Campbell, who was married to Mary Kyle, Ellen's sister, opened the correspondence.

We suggested the propriety (according to your advice on the subject) of sending you the inclosed notes—and observed that as the debt of S. & J. Smoker was created in consequence of your introduction, it was considered confidential by that firm. I thank you for having so kindly attended to our interest in this matter, but at the same time beg you to understand that in cases like the present, if we were to lose the debt, you would never be blamed. It is well known to both my partners that your kind intentions towards us induced you to give the letter of introduction to which you allude—and it would be a severe tax on your friendship, to consider you in any way accountable, if the changes which have since taken place in their affairs would make the debt a bad one.

As an individual, however, I am very desirous that both debts be secured. . . . Permit me, therefore, most earnestly to request your early attention and prompt action on both.²⁹

²⁸ Letter written in Peoria, Feb. 10, 1838.

²⁹ Letter written in Philadelphia, Dec. 12, 1837, to Stephenson.

Two months later, Campbell addressed Stephenson again on the subject of these notes.

From the annexed notice, you will see that our firm is changed and consequently, it becomes our duty to collect and condense the affairs of our late concern. . . . It is all important to me individually, that the two notes sent you for collection be realized as early as possible. . . .

At no previous time has my mind been so anxiously and incessantly employed, as during the last two months. Settling an old & starting a new business—both under peculiar circumstances—would be enough to give employment to a person of much greater talent; yet I have many other matters to attract attention. The strange state of times, and uncertainty as to the result, adds considerably to my annoyance. In a word, I am less contented with business at this moment, than I have ever been. Were it in my power, I would retire from its turmoils tomorrow without a wish to resume—not withstanding all has gone well with me and few have more reason to be grateful to the Almighty for worldly prosperity and none of my acquaintances have suffered fewer losses.³⁰

The Smoker firm could not say that none of its acquaintances had suffered fewer losses; it was nearly bankrupt. But it was in a happy tone that Samuel Smoker wrote to Stephenson in answer to a message about those notes.

I was yesterday reminded of a message which John Smoker left with me for you prior to his departure, in regard to the claim against him of Gill, Campbell & Co. He requested me to say that he had made every possible exertion to pay it; that his misfortune with the DuBuque had gleaned him of every dollar that he had in the world; that he had been placed in possession of about Six Thousand Dollars with which to get another Boat, that, that amount of money had been furnished him by Stangdher and some friends at DuBuque with the positive understanding that it was to be invested in a Steam Boat and not a dollar otherwise appropriated. He has claims at DuBuque to a very considerable amount, but not a farthing could he collect. He requested me to assure you that the very first money he could get would be applied toward cancelling that debt; he ex-

³⁰ Letter written in Philadelphia, Feb. 11, 1838.

pects to be here in the opening of navigation with a New Boat (which, by the way, he intends naming the *J. W. Stephenson*) and has no doubt but that he will be able to pay in the early part of the summer.³¹

A frank letter which Stephenson received from John Pearson very shortly after his nomination, outlines the political divisions arising, in part, from these opposing attitudes.

My object in writing this letter is not only to congratulate you, and to express my relief in your nomination, but to suggest some heads of subjects which appear to me useful, and which you can make use of in your tour around the country if thought advisable. You will pardon me for the liberty as I have at heart only the success of principles which you & I have long contended for & which now more than ever this sleepless federal party is aiming to overthrow.

1. Hold up the tremendous power of the U. S. Bank—its contempt of the people in the person of Genl. Jackson & Congress—its danger as a foreign corporation in peace & war—its monopoly—its tyranny over the money market—its faithlessness to Govt.—its interference in elections & the purchase of presses and its unconstitutionality &c.

2nd. The danger of fixing on the U. S. paper money; its instability and its injustice to the laboring class, and its object to build up the workshops of England. That the Whig party are turning everything to bring about a re-charter of the U. S. Bank. The object of that party in governing the country by a great charter.

3. That party have been opposed to reducing the price of public land. Have opposed the removal of the Indians—The War.—The French Claim.—fortifications—preemption laws—appropriations in the war—the naturalization of oppressed foreigners—to the right of all citizens' voting—have opposed every measure of Jefferson to this day of the Republican party. They are in favor of stopping the mail on the sabbath.—of abolition—monopolies—corporation after corporation—of a property qualification in a voter—of alien and sedition laws—of excluding foreigners from voting. Who exulted in the last war at our defeats? Who declared it unbecoming a religious people to rejoice in our victories? Who burnt blue lights? Met at Hart-

³¹ Letter written in Galena, March 8, 1838.

ford to dissolve the union? Men like Mr. Webster & now and then his great admirers! Who ridiculed our brave soldiers and sailors in the last war? Who sided with France against the U. S. & tried to prevent her paying our injured merchants their just claims? Who ridiculed and reviled every Democrat since the days of Jefferson, but the very men now struggling to fix eternally a great U. S. Bank upon the country, & that Bank, too, owned and governed by foreigners?...

For the day will come, & God hasten it, when our Govt. will be what it was designed to be—equal & free from all monopolies, and metallic currency for common purposes. Then, indeed will the price of prosperity be stable. Then will a laboring man know how to fix his price. Then will all things be sure and our Constitution realized. Success speed you, and in you, the cause. I mean, true Republican principle, which extends its helping hand to all: to the high and low. . . to the oppressed and free, by making all free and equal in political rights.

Heaven and Earth will be ruptured by our Federal party to defeat you, and all of our party, but you will be successful, if I know the bold, high-minded sons of Illinois.³²

But the campaign was scarcely under way in 1838, when newspaper articles began to appear, denouncing Stephenson as a defaulter to the federal government in his accounts as Receiver of Lands at Galena, charging him with a shortage amounting to more than sixty thousand dollars. It is difficult to know whence this cry first sprang, but jealous Democrats joined their voices with the Whigs.

From examination of a rough draft of a paper prepared by Colonel A. G. S. Wight, one of Stephenson's sureties on his \$30,000 bond as United States receiver, April 3, 1835, and on his \$100,000 bond³³ of July 1, 1836, it appears that at least part of the shortage in Stephenson's accounts was caused by the fact that he had to

³² Letter written in Peoria, Jan. 8, 1838.

³³ Deed Book D, pp. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. With Wight as sureties on the first bond were Albion T. Crow, Michael Byrne, A. Eade and William Bennet. All these were sureties on the second bond, with Terrah B. Farnsworth, John Atchison, Daniel Wann and Hezekiah H. Gear.

accept in payment for land, paper which was subject to a considerable discount when he sent his payment in specie to the Secretary of the Treasury. It appears that changed regulations did not allow for these discounts. However, Wight's paper is couched in such obscure terms that it is difficult to ascertain exactly how the shortages were composed.³⁴

A warm letter from his mother, at Carlinville, urged Stephenson on to the battle.

I have at this moment seen a *Chicago Democrat* and with astonishment have read the piece denouncing you. Now, James, if I were you, I would not decline. I would run and let them bring out their man. I would retaliate it on them by running if I even gained a defeat. A pretty set of friends!! Instead of defending you against the attacks of the Whigs, they have, at least some of them, joined in the cry against you. . . . I hope you will not let these things prey on your health. I hope that eventually it will be the means of raising you yet higher in the estimation of the good and virtuous.

Do attend to your health and exercise fortitude. Recollect that all Great Men have enemies. If I were you, I would come out in an appeal to the honest portion of the party and offer myself as a Candidate for Governor. I believe you can beat Cyrus anyhow.

May the Lord in mercy restore you in health is the prayer of your devoted Mother.³⁵

Stephenson had already publicly denied the rumor in an article in the *Galena Gazette*.

TO THE PUBLIC

The rumor of my defalcation, which for several weeks has been circulating in this state—in a late report of the Secretary of the Treasury appearing to receive confirmation, is now worthy of remark from me. It is very true that there was an apparent indebtedness from me to Government, sixty-four thousand, some hundred dollars, as late as December last. If, however, the credits had been allowed for funds which had previously provided for the purpose, my accounts would have been earlier settled. In January, becoming

³⁴ Undated paper prepared by Col. A. G. S. Wight and filed with estate papers.

³⁵ Letter of May 16, 1838.

impatient in awaiting the result of a preliminary question, at issue between the Secretary of the Treasury and myself in relation to final settlement, I forwarded all my vouchers to the Secretary direct, covering the entire amount of my indebtedness. These are now in his possession and furnish, as I conceive, complete testimony that the epithet defaulter, cannot, with fairness, be applied to me.

I however deny the charge of defalcation absolutely; and if my enemies persist in preferring it, I will again appear before you in more detail, and with other evidence that such imputation is entirely unfounded. At present I must rely on my own explicit denial of the charge of defalcation.³⁶

Even if all the charges had been true, Stephenson might have been able to conduct a successful campaign, had he been in good health; he had beaten a rumor of defalcation in his accounts as clerk of the commissioners' court in his first campaign for the Illinois Senate,³⁷ and it must be remembered that such personal slander was so much a part of every political campaign in those days that the general public listened with but half an ear. Stephenson was, however, a mortally ill man. In December, 1837, and again in February, 1838, believing him to be dangerously ill, Hugh Campbell had written, urging Stephenson to come to Philadelphia to recuperate from his illness and rest from his strenuous life. But Stephenson had been unwilling to leave his campaign.

Now he was unable to appeal to the people personally; his strength was not equal to a newspaper campaign. He withdrew from the contest, and Thomas Carlin was named in his place.

On August 6, 1838, Carlin was elected Governor of Illinois. Less than a week later, on Sunday, August 12, James W. Stephenson died at his home in Galena of tuberculosis, aged thirty-two, and was buried the same day with military honors.

³⁶ *Sangamo Journal*, March 10, 1838.

³⁷ Letter from John Turney at Galena, May 23, 1824, to Stephenson at Peoria.

His year old daughter, Lucy, died within the same year. Ellen soon afterward moved to Freeport with her son Kyle, to live with her sister Jane, the wife of John A. Clark, surveyor and attorney. She was married again in 1843, to Colonel William Mitchell of Freeport, who established the banking house of James Mitchell and Company, also known as the Stephenson County Bank.³⁸ But Ellen had apparently contracted tuberculosis from her first husband, for she died nine months after her second marriage, when she was only twenty-nine years old.

Jane Clark took little Kyle Stephenson into her own family, and when John Clark was appointed surveyor general of New Mexico, Kyle moved west with the family. He died in Arkansas in 1864.³⁹

Before his death, he had erected on the Mitchell lot in the Freeport cemetery—to which his father's remains had been moved from the Galena cemetery, and where his mother and little sister were buried—a monument to their memory.

Colonel James W. Stephenson

Died 1838

AE 32 years

Eleanor

Relict of James

W. Stephenson and

wife of James Mitchell

Died 1844

AE 29 years

Lucy

daughter of James W. &

Eleanor

Stephenson

Died 1838

AE 1 year

³⁸ Letter from William P. Malburn at Freeport, May 7, 1941, to the author.

³⁹ Letter from Ellen Clark at Charlottesville, Va., June 9, 1941, to the author.

HISTORY OF THE ILLINOIS SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF

BY MINNIE WAIT CLEARY

DURING the summer of 1838, Orville H. Browning of Quincy, a member of the Illinois Senate, later United States Senator and Secretary of the Interior in President Johnson's cabinet, was traveling on a Mississippi River steamboat. On this boat he met an educated deaf man, the first he had ever seen, who at once aroused his interest. Browning obtained from this man as much information as possible in regard to the means by which he had received his education.

There were at that time only five institutions giving such education in the United States. The American Asylum at Hartford, Connecticut, founded in 1817, was the first, and others had since been established in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Kentucky. Returning home, Browning corresponded with the head of the Kentucky school, and soon became convinced that Illinois should do something for her deaf children.

He prepared and presented to the General Assembly at its next session—the last one held in Vandalia—a bill proposing the establishment of an "Asylum for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb in Illinois." Senator Thomas, of Morgan County, promised the support of the entire delegation from this county if the name of Jacksonville were incorporated in the bill as a suitable loca-

tion for the "asylum." Since this county's representation in the legislature was then quite large, consisting of Senators William Thomas, William Orear and William Weatherford and Representatives John J. Hardin, Newton Cloud, John Henry, William W. Happy, and William Gilham this suggestion was eventually adopted, together with a proviso that the citizens of the county donate the land for the site.

The Senate passed the bill unanimously, without discussion, but in the House there was some opposition. Though the measure passed by a large majority, the original appropriation was cut from \$6,000 to \$1,500 because of financial difficulties.

The Governor appointed a Board of Trustees for the Asylum consisting of Thomas Carlin, Daniel G. Whitney and Thomas Cole of Adams County; Otway Wilkinson, Samuel D. Lockwood, Joseph Duncan, Dennis Rockwell, William Thomas, Julian M. Sturtevant, George M. Chambers, Samuel M. Prosser, Porter Clay and Matthew Stacy of Morgan County; Richard F. Barrett and Samuel H. Treat of Sangamon County; Cyrus Walker of McDonough County; Benjamin F. Morris of Hancock County; William E. Withrow and James McCrosky of Schuyler County; and Thomas Worthington of Pike County. This Board held its first meeting in Jacksonville on June 29, 1839, and elected the following officers: Joseph Duncan, president; Samuel D. Lockwood, vice-president; Otway Wilkinson, treasurer; and George M. Chambers, secretary. Committees were appointed to investigate and report upon five phases of the undertaking: a definite site for the school, a plan for building, the approximate expense of building and maintenance, the number of teachers required, and a

course of study to be offered at the school.

Matters moved along slowly and it was not until February, 1842, that any definite steps were taken. By that time the citizens of Jacksonville and vicinity had collected and handed over to the treasurer of the Board \$979.50 for "the purchase of a lot of land, to be selected by the donors, on which to place the asylum, and improvements thereon." The lot bought—for a purchase price of \$728—was about a mile west of the courthouse and contained seven acres.

Differences of opinion arose in the committee as to the number and type of buildings most desirable, but it was finally agreed to erect only one, of medium size. In April the Board advertised for bids for the construction of a brick building, with stone foundation, 86 feet long, 56 feet wide, 3 stories and an attic high, to contain 32 rooms. The cost was expected to be under \$12,000. A month later the contract was let to J. P. Langford of Springfield, Illinois, the lowest bidder at \$7,888. The contractor was to raise the building and enclose it within a year. By June, 1843, the building was not yet completed, but for reasons satisfactory to the Board Langford was released from his contract and M. and C. Goltra, of Jacksonville, in August undertook to finish the building, including carpenters' and joiners' work, for \$4,675.

So many people considered this building, which was the original south wing, as extravagant in size that it was derisively known as the "State's Folly." The Board thought that it would meet all demands for probably a hundred years to come, whereas within a small fraction of that time the building was too small for the rapidly increasing number of applicants. The Trustees can hardly

be blamed for this miscalculation, for the census of 1840 had reported a number far below the actual deaf population of the state.

By the summer of 1845, only eight of the thirty-two rooms were ready for occupancy, but it was decided to begin with these, and the newspapers of the state announced that the school would open on December 1. Thomas H. Officer, a Princeton alumnus and a teacher in the Ohio school for the deaf for five years, was engaged as principal of the school, together with a steward to attend to financial affairs. The steward was expected to furnish food, lodging, light, heat and laundry for the pupils at \$1.25 a week per capita for the term of forty-three weeks. To cover this expense parents or guardians were required to pay an annual fee of \$80 for each child. Those unable to do this were obliged to take an oath of poverty, in which case the fee was paid by the state. Because of a natural feeling of pride, many refused to take this oath, thus depriving their children of the benefit of an education. Within a few years, this fee was abolished and the school made free to all deaf children residing in the state. So long as they could be accommodated, deaf children from bordering states which had no schools for them were allowed to attend the Illinois school upon payment of the usual fee, but when these states in turn built their own institutions this was no longer necessary.

Throughout the summer of 1845, Thomas Officer traveled over the state in search of deaf children and found twelve whose parents promised to send them to Jacksonville when the school was ready to open. During the last week of November, a heavy snow fell, crippling all means of transportation, and on December 1 not one

child appeared. The snow was followed by a period of extreme cold weather, and the school did not open until January 26, 1846, with four children present. By the end of the term five more had been enrolled.

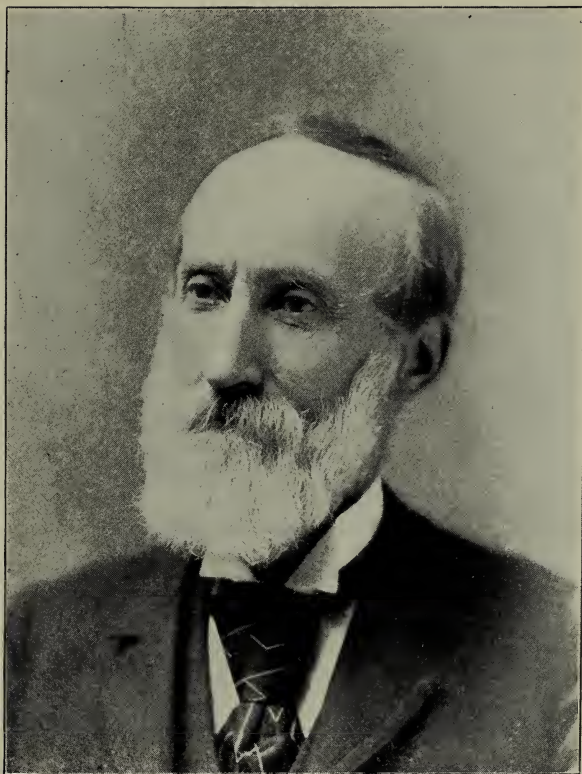
In July, the Board members visited the school and expressed themselves as greatly pleased with the progress made in only a few months. The report for that year states that the children "had learned to write a neat and legible hand, both on paper and on the blackboard; had memorized about eight hundred words of our language, comprising all the different parts of speech. They had also learned how to use these words correctly in short, simple sentences suggested by the principal in the sign language." A phenomenal record!

By fall, there were fourteen pupils and Thomas H. Dunlap, a deaf mute from Knox County, had been appointed assistant teacher.

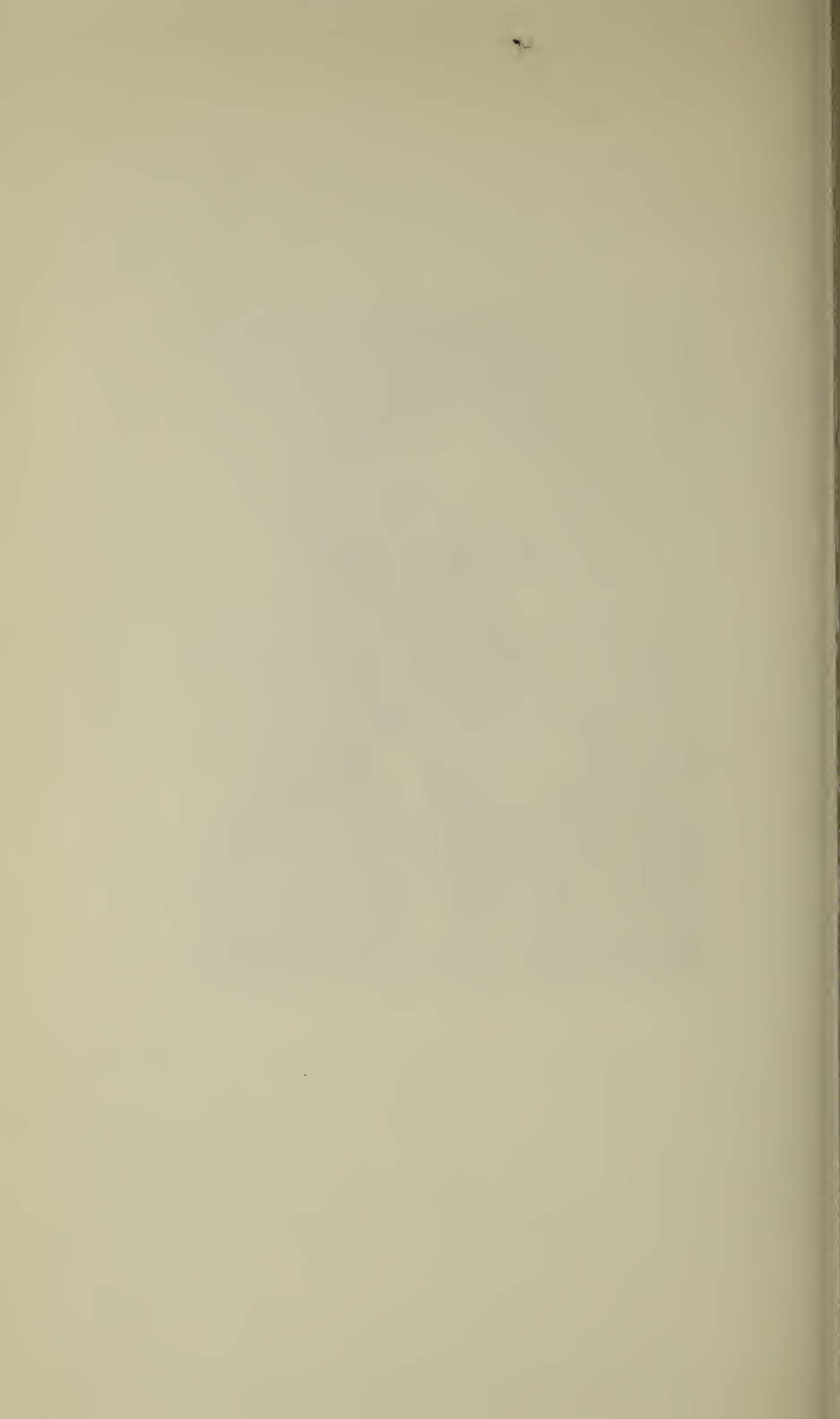
For the first ten years the daily routine for the pupils was as follows:

A.M.		P.M.	
Rise at.....	4:30	School.....	1:00
Study.....	5:00	Prayers.....	3:00
Breakfast.....	6:00	Labor.....	3:15
Labor.....	6:45	Supper.....	6:00
School opening with		Study.....	7:00
Chapel.....	9:00	Retire.....	9:00

"Labor," until the teaching of trades was introduced, consisted of housework for the girls and outdoor chores, such as splitting and carrying in wood, for the boys. In the winter, rising time was mercifully set half an hour later. Chapel was conducted twice on Sunday. On Wednesday afternoon there was no school, the time being given to bathing and recreation. At this time of the week the boys were allowed to go to town



THOMAS H. OFFICER
Principal, School for the Deaf
1845-1855



in groups, older boys in charge of smaller ones. No girl was allowed to visit the downtown district unless properly chaperoned.

For many years no holidays for more than a day at a time were granted. Thanksgiving, Christmas, sometimes New Year's Day, and the annual picnic day were the only breaks in the nine months' term. This was chiefly because of the difficulties encountered in transporting the children to and from their homes, but in recent years the school has closed for two weeks during the Christmas season. Quite a few children also return to their homes for Easter, although no holiday is declared at that time.

During the long school term, the principal often made trips to various towns in Illinois, taking with him classes of children to demonstrate the work of the schoolroom, thereby advertising the school. These expeditions were usually made without expense, railroad and steamboat companies readily furnishing free transportation and the townspeople in the places visited usually providing entertainment for the group.

In 1855, the system of dual management, giving to the principal and steward equal authority, became intolerable to the principal, Thomas Officer, and he resigned in October, shortly after the opening of school. He went to Iowa, where he engaged in business, never, however, losing his deep interest in the deaf. He was instrumental in bringing about the founding of the Iowa school for the deaf, and was for many years a trustee of that institution, maintaining his residence in Council Bluffs until his death in 1900.

Thus left rudderless at a critical time, the Illinois school was for a while in a seriously disorganized con-

dition. The Reverend Newton Cloud of Waverly, a member of the Board, reluctantly consented to take charge until a suitable principal could be found. The matron and a large number of pupils withdrew—only two teachers remained—and the situation rapidly went from bad to worse.

Such was the condition of affairs when the position of principal was offered to Philip G. Gillett, then teaching in the Indiana school for the deaf. Barely entered upon his twenty-fourth year, Gillett, a graduate of Asbury, now DePauw University, had taken up teaching as a temporary expedient, intending eventually to study medicine. But his four years' experience in educating the deaf had so interested him that he had given up his earlier plan and decided, instead, to remain in the profession. Attracted by the possibilities in the new field, he accepted the Jacksonville position.

He spoke of himself as a "beardless youth," considered by some as entirely too young to fill so responsible a place. He took charge in April, 1856, and very soon demonstrated his ability to bring order out of chaos. In after years, it was said of him that he "had driven school, public and even the Legislature before him, and when this was impossible he had gone in advance himself and waited for the others to come up."

Gillett held the superintendency of the school for more than thirty-seven years, and more than any other one person contributed to its upbuilding and helped to shape its policies. As Emerson aptly expressed it, the school was for many years "the lengthened shadow of one man." He rose to a position of leadership in his chosen profession, yet found time in the midst of an unusually busy life to shoulder more than his share of

outside activities. In 1871 his Alma Mater, in recognition of his many achievements, bestowed upon him the honorary degree of LL.D.

Having early in life identified himself with the Methodist Church, he held a number of important offices in that body. During the Civil War, he was a member of the Christian Commission. In 1872, he was President of the International Sunday School Convention held at Indianapolis, and in 1888 Chairman of the Sunday School Committee of the General Conference, a committee appointed to map out a course of study for these schools. It was due to Dr. Gillett's efforts that the Methodist Mission to the Deaf was established in Chicago with the Reverend Philip J. Hasenstab, former teacher in this school, as pastor. Dr. Gillett took an active part in the organization of the State Board of Charities, of which he was offered the chairmanship. He was President of the World's Congress of Instructors of the Deaf, held in Chicago in 1893, and also first Eminent Commander of Hospitaler Commandery in Jacksonville.

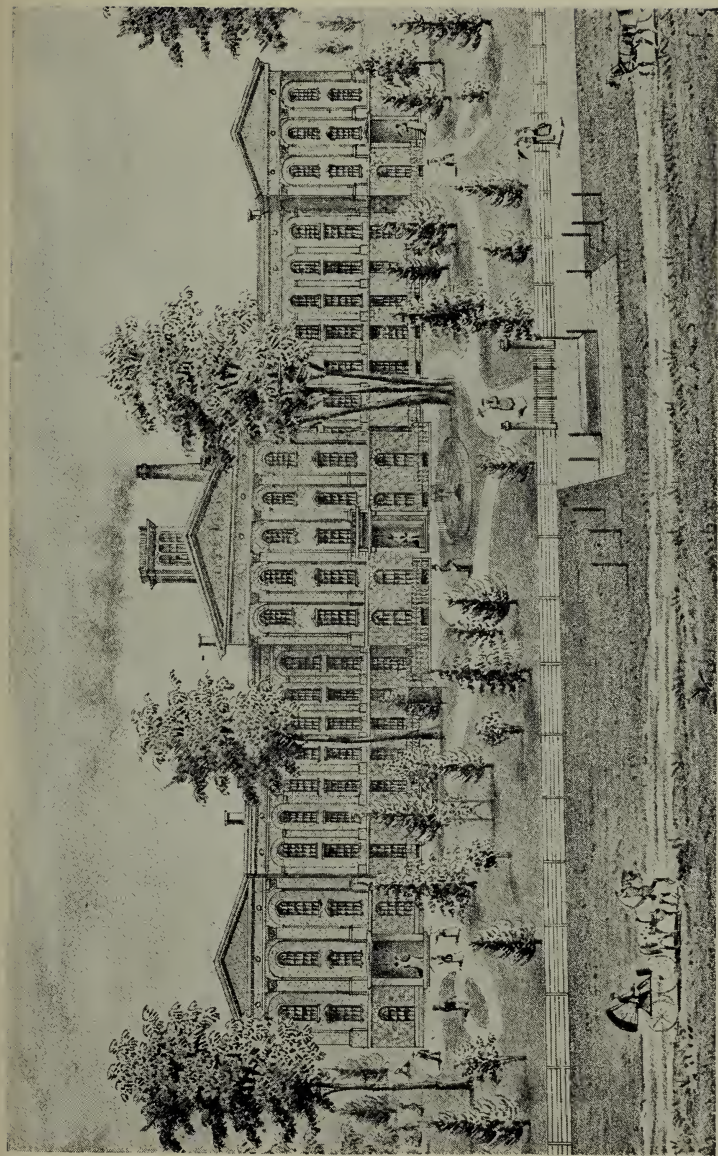
Upon leaving the Illinois School for the Deaf, he became President of the American Association for the Promotion of Teaching Speech to the Deaf, a position which he occupied until a few years before his death, which occurred on October 2, 1901.

Dr. Gillett was deeply concerned with the plight of the feeble-minded children, from time to time brought to the school by parents who, in their ignorance, thought them deaf. Compelled to deny admittance to such children, for nine years he petitioned the legislature in their behalf. His efforts were rewarded when in 1865, the state leased as a school for feeble-minded chil-

dren the old Governor Duncan property in Jacksonville, now the D.A.R. Chapter House. Dr. Gillett, in addition to his already manifold duties, was put in charge of this institution which was just across the street from the School for the Deaf. As soon as he had organized and established the new school on a working basis, Dr. Gillett recommended the appointment of Dr. Charles Wilbur, who was soon sent to relieve him. The school remained in this location for ten years, when it was removed to permanent, more spacious quarters in Lincoln.

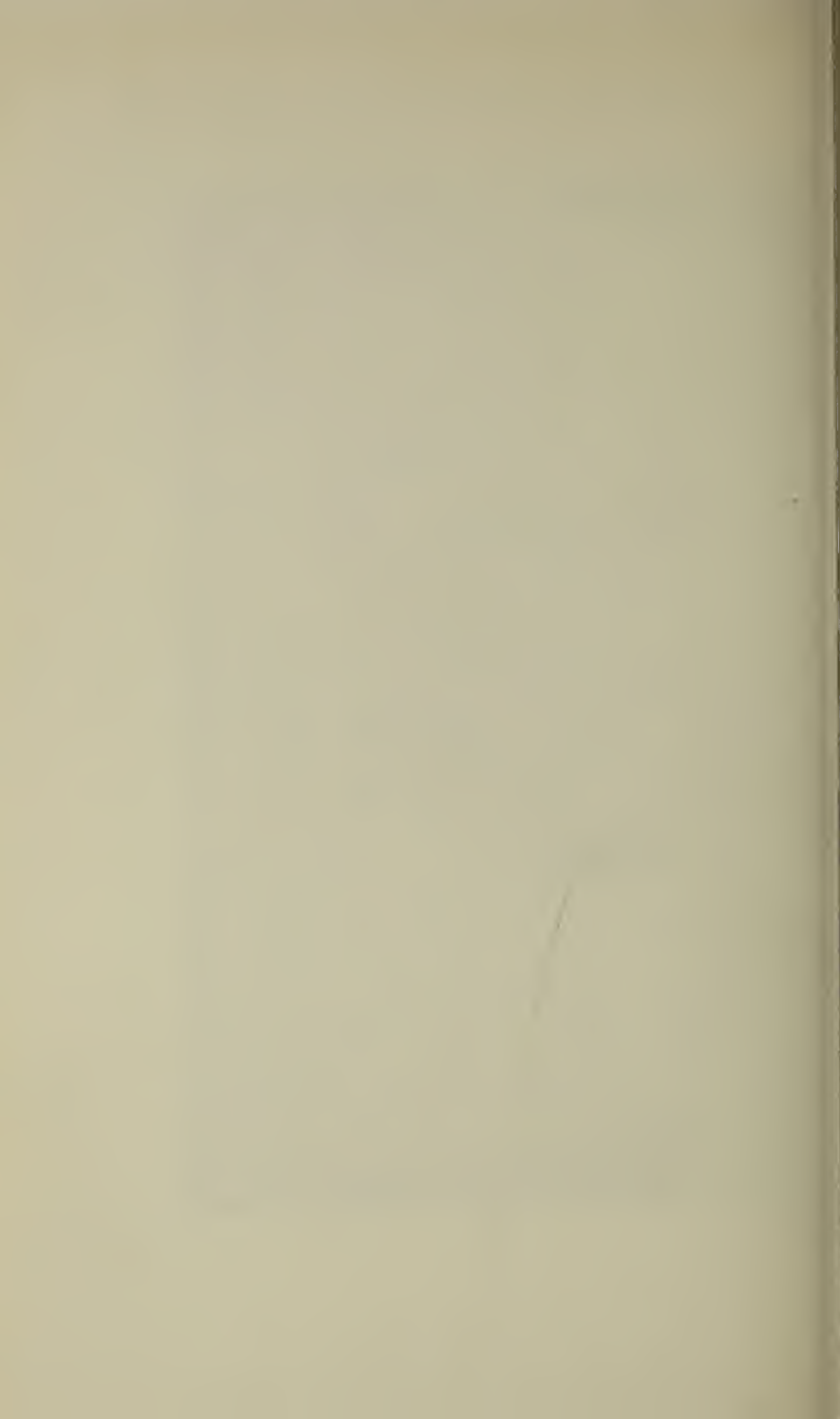
When Dr. Gillett assumed charge of the School for the Deaf on April 12, 1856, he found there only 22 of the 107 children who had been present when his predecessor left some seven months before. When school opened in the following September, he had brought the attendance up to 109, the largest number ever enrolled up to that date. Except for the duration of the Civil War, when older boys were kept at home to fill the places of their soldier fathers and brothers, the number steadily increased until, by 1882, the school had become the largest of its kind in the world. To meet this rapid expansion, more and more buildings were erected as fast as the legislature granted the necessary funds. Additional land also was purchased, piece by piece, until today the school owns 160 acres. It took twenty-nine years for Dr. Gillett to wring from the General Assembly the appropriation which secured for the institution added space in the front lawn. With this fund several lots were purchased from the J. B. Turner estate, making it possible to push Webster Avenue, the eastern boundary of the grounds, still farther eastward, so as to conform with its north, instead of its south line of extension.

In 1851, the south wing was reroofed and the present



From Atlas Map of Morgan County

THE ILLINOIS SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF ABOUT 1872



main building was finished. Almost at once its front wall was found to be unsafe and it had to be torn down and rebuilt. Soon after, construction was begun on the north wing. Owing to several undesirable features in the plan of the south wing, erected some ten or twelve years previously, the north wing followed a different style of architecture. When, in 1871, it became necessary to rebuild the south wing, the two were made to conform.

From 1846 to 1857, the only means of heating was by wood stoves, and light was furnished by candles and oil lamps. Realizing that these antiquated methods involved fire hazards especially dangerous to the deaf, Dr. Gillett had, during the first year of his administration, persuaded the Board to introduce the use of steam heat and gas. In 1882 an electric plant was installed which, with some additions, still furnishes light for all the institution.

In 1873, a commodious dining room was built, with hospital rooms above. Two years later the school building was erected some distance west of the south wing. This building, comprising four stories and a basement, contained twenty-eight schoolrooms, a small library and a large chapel with a balcony on three sides. It has recently been condemned and vacated.

The first industrial building was a small frame house which was bought and hauled upon the grounds. Within a year the labor performed by the boys in both new and repair work was estimated to be worth over \$500, an amount more than sufficient to cover the entire cost of the shop.

A low brick building was afterward used for shop work, but when the present industrial building was built in 1877, this was adapted to use as a cottage for

the little boys. Never well conditioned, it was demolished in 1895 and replaced by the "Castle," a more modern structure. The laundry was built in 1879, and the bakery in 1881. The latter held also the storeroom and the library, which had long since outgrown its cramped quarters in the school building. The former carriage house was remodeled into a home for older boys, called Cullom Hall, and in 1886, a cottage for little girls, Gillett Hall, still further increased the number of dormitories.

The first gymnasium was erected in 1886 and J. H. Cloud, father of the present managing officer, was engaged as physical instructor for boys. Six years later the first such instructor for girls, Miss Grace Farr, was added to the staff.

Athletics of all kinds occupy a prominent place in the lives of the deaf children. Football was introduced in the eighties by P. J. Hasenstab, who had learned to play the game at Gallaudet College, in Washington, D.C. Today both boys and girls compete in all sorts of sports, give annual exhibitions of their ability, and present superb pageants.

Almost from the very beginning, the question of obtaining an adequate supply of water has been a troublesome one. In 1859 the amount furnished by wells on the place fell far below the demand, there being at times barely enough for the absolute necessities, cooking, drinking and bathing. Various schemes were tried: water was hauled from the fair grounds, even sometimes from as far as Dunlap Springs; more wells were sunk; land on the north, containing a deep well, was purchased. This furnished much-needed additional space for playgrounds, but not enough water; water from

Ashelby's Pond was piped to the grounds; a reservoir of 3,500,000 gallon capacity was constructed, all to no avail. In dry seasons there was always a water famine with consequent danger of having to close the school. In 1874, when Jacksonville installed a city water system, creating a lake, "by damming up a ravine about a mile east of the Insane hospital," it was thought that all water troubles were over, but this also proved a false hope. In times of drought the same difficulties arose as before. The city added a second lake and later made an attempt to bring water from the Illinois River, but this plan, too, was doomed to failure. Only recently, since the city has constructed a third and more capacious lake, has the difficulty been overcome.

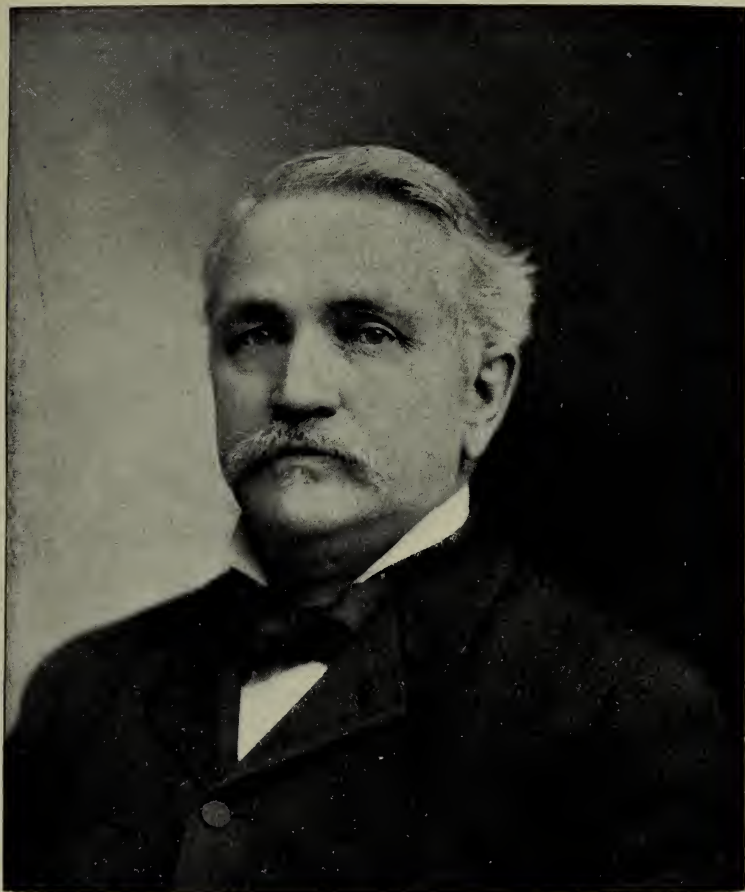
In education the school has taken a leading part in every way. Although a detailed history of teaching the deaf has no place here, a brief résumé of its beginning in this country may not be amiss. When Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet went to London in 1815 in search of information as to methods of instructing the deaf, he was told that the rules of the school there forbade any teacher to impart such knowledge to an outsider. Gallaudet fared no better in Edinburgh, but in France he was warmly received and given assistance in every possible way and a young Frenchman, Laurent Clerc, accompanied him back to America to assist him in his work. The system in use in France at the time was the manual, or sign and finger spelling method and it was this method which the two young men brought with them and introduced into the early schools of this country. The method came to be used here quite universally and it was not until a half century later that the oral, or speech and lip reading system came into use, although England had been

using it during all that time.

Clark Institution, in Northampton, Massachusetts, one of, if not the first to use this method entirely, was founded in 1867. In the following year Dr. Gillett, with the superintendents of the Wisconsin and Iowa schools, visited this institution. Surprised and pleased by what he saw and heard there, Dr. Gillett, upon his return, organized classes in articulation with Miss Cornelia Trask as teacher. Special drill in speech work was given to different groups at certain periods during the day and the department was later enlarged to include eight teachers. In 1890 children not totally deaf were grouped into auricular classes and instructed by such hearing devices as were then available. These classes were carried on by Miss Mary A. Selby for a number of years.

The art department is among the oldest in the school, having been established in 1864 because Dr. Gillett felt that "the only accomplishment of refined society from which the deaf are not necessarily debarred is drawing." In this department Mrs. Agnes Griffith and Miss Mary Peek were among the earliest instructors. Miss Mary Upham was later in charge for many years. The Illinois school has always been well represented at Gallaudet College, the only college for the deaf in this country. The college was founded in 1864 and the first entrants from this state were Malachi Hallowell and Charles Hibbard who entered in 1868. Many of our deaf teachers have been alumni of the College. Gallaudet Normal School, conducted in conjunction with the College, has also trained a number of hearing men and women for the profession.

One would like to name each and all of the many teachers who have devoted themselves to the education



PHILIP G. GILLETT
Superintendent, School for the Deaf
1856-1893



of the deaf children in this school, but our list must be confined to those who have devoted practically their entire lives to the task and so left the most lasting impressions. Among the very first group were Selah Wait who came in 1848 and Abel Baker in 1849. They stood by during the trying period of 1855-1856. Others who came soon after were: Louis H. Jenkins, Charles H. Laughlin, M. L. Brock, John H. Woods, first librarian and compiler of the first catalogue of the 15,000 volume library, the Reverend Frank Read, Sr., editor of the school paper, the *Advance*, for thirty years, minister to the deaf as well as teacher, and father of three sons who became teachers of the deaf, Dr. H. W. Milligan, who resigned to accept a professorship at Illinois College, J. W. Swiler, late head of the Wisconsin school, H. C. Hammond, who also became superintendent of schools elsewhere, D. W. George, who taught nearly forty years, J. A. Kennedy, and Frank Read, Jr., who was superintendent of the North Dakota school at the time of his death. Miss Elizabeth Lawrence, appointed in 1856, was the first woman teacher of the deaf in the United States. Ten years later, when two or three others had been added to the staff, Dr. Gillett reported that "the success of female teachers was fully equal to that of the others," and since that period many able women have devoted themselves to the cause. Other women teachers in the early period were Misses Lavinia Eden, Mary L. Martin, Sarah H. Noyes, Jane V. Gillett, Mary and Laura Sheridan, Eliza Kent, Frances Wait, Annie E. Tanner, Alma Gillett, Mary Dutch, Cynthia Luttrell, E. Belle Howard, recently retired at the end of thirty-eight years, and Anna Morse and S. Frances Wood, mentioned elsewhere.

The first trade introduced into the curriculum was cabinet making. The instructor, Nathan M. Totten, and his wife, the first matron, were both deaf. Shoe repairing came next in 1851, and printing in 1869. Boys were also instructed in farming and gardening and, later, baking. The girls helped with the housework, but were given no regular industrial training until many years had passed. The men best remembered as having had charge of training the boys along these lines are probably David Swales, Jacob Braun and A. L. Hay.

The "spoils system," affecting our state institutions for the first time in 1893, brought about the retirement of Dr. Gillett. His successor was S. Teft Walker, a man of wide experience, well-qualified for the position. He had started out in life as private secretary to Dr. Gillett, had then become a supervisor and teacher in this school, leaving in 1883 to accept a higher position. He had been connected with the schools for the deaf in Hartford and in Philadelphia and was superintendent of the Kansas school for eight years. A man of dynamic personality and tireless energy, he contributed greatly during his short term of office to the progress of the school.

One of his first innovations, which has borne lasting results, was to place the administration of the school proper in the hands of a competent principal. The growth of the school, in many ways beside mere attendance, had made it impossible for one person to give to the academic department the close, individual attention which it required.

Recognizing that fact, Walker had urged upon the Board the appointment of a principal to take over that part of his responsibility and Miss Anna Morse, a teacher in the school for many years, was selected for

the position. Working together they accomplished much. The entire curriculum was reorganized and a new course of study planned. Where formerly two of the upper classes had been assigned to one teacher, they were now placed on a rotating schedule with each teacher handling only one subject, as had long been the custom in high schools and colleges. In this way the long teaching hours were much shortened. The upper and intermediate groups were placed on a time-rotating basis so that while two-thirds of the children were in the classroom, the other third were in the gymnasium or the shops. The three sections rotated in sequence on the first day of each month. This system is still in use, only the primary children having a different schedule.

Kindergarten classes were organized in 1896, and continued for a number of years. Misses Margaret Byrns and Helen Rawlings were pioneers in this branch. Oral classes, in which all instruction was given by means of lip reading, speech and writing took the place of the former articulation work. Mrs. Walker conducted an auricular troupe, using the piano and phonograph to supplement the devices already in use and audiometer tests were occasionally given.

A few changes in the teaching force occurred at this time, the superintendent bringing in Dr. J. H. Brown, Misses Kate Stevenson, Effie Johnston, Lizzie Ferguson, and Edward P. Cleary, who taught for thirty-nine years, and Miss S. Catherine Wood who resigned in 1938 after forty-five years of service.

After four years, the political wheel revolved once again, and Dr. J. C. Gordon, professor of chemistry and director of the Normal Department at Gallaudet College became the new superintendent. Dr. Gordon very

soon began to petition the legislature for an addition to the school building, a proposal already suggested by Walker. When one remembers that the art studio was then on the top floor of the main building, the library on the second floor of the bakery ell, and the chapel on the third floor of the schoolhouse, while kindergarten classes were conducted in the "Castle," one realizes the tremendous amount of walking involved in making even one round without taking in the shops. Moreover, the school building was badly crowded, a number of classrooms being occupied during alternate periods by two different classes, resulting in great discomfort and confusion. This condition again prevailed during recent years until the new units were built. The Annex was not completed during Dr. Gordon's lifetime, but the appropriation was made and the plans were well under way. This building supplied more schoolrooms, a library, art and photography studio and a new chapel. It was recently condemned, having been badly damaged by termites.

The old conception of the school as an "asylum" had long been outmoded, the name "institution" having been substituted in 1849. At Dr. Gordon's suggestion, a still further change was made by which the present name, "Illinois School for the Deaf" was acquired. The wearing of uniforms, which had been in vogue for some ten or twelve years, was discontinued at the same time.

It was Dr. Gordon who introduced domestic science, the first industrial training given the girls, "to bridge the gap between the literary and the mechanical arts departments." Photography for both boys and girls was also offered, with T. J. Hainline, an alumnus of the school, as the first instructor. Since that time mil-

linery, dressmaking and beauty culture have been added as trades for the girls and barbering for the boys.

Teachers who entered the school at about this period and remained for many years are Mr. and Mrs. C. W. Taylor, Mrs. Helen R. Jordan, who devoted her life to the teaching of both the blind and the deaf, C. Spruit, and Misses Della Walton, Effie Race, Alice Plouer, Hettie Patterson and Margaret Russel. Miss Russel retired in 1933 after thirty years' service as teacher and principal.

Dr. Gordon's administration was cut short by his sudden death in April, 1902. At the time, Charles P. Gillett, son of Dr. P. G. Gillett, former superintendent, was teaching at the school. He had been secretary and assistant to his father for many years, was acting superintendent of the Minnesota school for a year, and a teacher during the intervening period. Born in the institution, he had from childhood been familiar with its every detail and it was but natural that he should be appointed to fill the vacancy so unexpectedly created. For fifteen years he held the office long held by his father. Miss Morse retired to private life during this time and her position was taken by Miss S. Frances Wood also a long-time teacher in the school. Miss Wood, after several years, voluntarily returned to the classroom, relinquishing her duties in 1926 after fifty-two years' connection with the school.

The Civil Service Act was passed during this administration. All teachers then on the staff were by blanket rule placed under its jurisdiction; those entering since have been subject to examination. The Pension Act, passed in 1917, provided insurance after retirement.

Governor Lowden became Governor in 1917 and re-

organized the entire plan of state institution management under the Administrative Code. The old system of trusteeship was dropped and the Department of Welfare was given control of all state institutions. Soon after this, H. T. White, superintendent of the Soldiers' Orphans' Home at Normal, was appointed Managing Officer of this school. Although an experienced educator, he was the first of several managing officers who could not communicate with the deaf in their own language. Especial emphasis was, during his regime, placed upon oral and auricular work. Scout groups, both for boys and girls, were formed and a moving picture machine was installed. Instructors in the industrial department, heretofore classed as foremen, were given full rank as teachers.

After three years, in October, 1921, White was superseded by Colonel O. C. Smith. The outstanding feature of Colonel Smith's term was the erection of a modern, well-equipped gymnasium which led to increased activity in athletics and sports of all kinds. Normal school classes, which had not been conducted since the nineties, were again organized and a number of young people trained for the work. In 1926 a summer normal school was held with courses especially planned for deaf teachers.

Early in 1927 Colonel Smith exchanged offices with Colonel J. W. Reig, head of the Soldiers' Home in Quincy. Colonel Reig remained only six months until Colonel F. W. Whipp was appointed in his place. Colonel Whipp, identified with the State Board of Charities and Department of Public Welfare over a long period of time, exercised a wise control over the institution during the next two years, while the department sought a

Managing Officer who had been trained to educate the deaf.

In August, 1929, the appointment of Daniel T. Cloud, the present incumbent, was announced. Possessed of an excellent background, he is the son of deaf parents, both graduates of the Illinois school. His father, the Reverend J. H. Cloud, already spoken of, was a distinguished alumnus of Gallaudet College. After teaching in the Illinois school for a few years, he entered the ministry and for thirty-six years was rector at St. Thomas Mission in St. Louis, serving at the same time as principal of the Gallaudet (day) school in that city.

Through lifelong association with the deaf and his experience in managing the Arkansas school for five years and the Kansas school for three years, Dan Cloud was no novice in the field when he came to the Illinois school. He has in many ways demonstrated his fitness and ability during the past few years. The course of study has been made to conform more nearly to that of the public schools, new features have been added, the standard of teacher requirements raised and the number of teachers increased. A vast building program has been undertaken at a cost of nearly a million dollars. The old schoolhouse having been condemned and dismantled, three new school-dormitory units, each with a capacity of 144 children, have been erected. Unit I is used for oral work exclusively, Unit II for auricular classes. In this unit, equipped with the latest models in the way of electrical hearing appliances, every effort is made to conserve and develop any residual hearing the children may have. Unit III is used by manual classes. With these smaller units, it is possible to segregate the children at the time of entry and later re-group them ac-

ording to individual needs and ability.

In addition to these units, a modern dormitory for older boys has taken the place of Cullom Hall and there has been erected a ground-floor auditorium, with a seating capacity of 1200 and complete equipment in stage properties. For over fifteen years the school has maintained a boys' band, organized as an aid to the development of hearing and more recently a choral group has been formed with the same purpose in view. Still other and older organizations are the Young America Literary Society for boys and the Mutual Improvement Society for girls. Both of these societies, founded over fifty years ago, are under teacher supervision and furnish excellent training in public speaking.

Attendance at the school is now around six hundred. T. V. Archer, the principal, has been in charge for nearly seventeen years. H. A. Molohon, instructor in cabinet work and carpentry, has maintained an almost unbroken connection with the school for sixty-three years. Entering as a pupil in 1878, he returned as supervisor after graduating, then became physical director before assuming his present position.

As one of the several state institutions which come under the supervision of the Director of the Department of Public Welfare, the Illinois School for the Deaf has received the benefits of the knowledge and interest of several highly-qualified men who have held that position. A history of the school would not be complete without an expression of appreciation for the work of A. L. Bowen, who became Director of the Department in 1933. Rodney H. Brandon, the present Director, also has a genuine interest in those who are under his care, and still further development may be expected under his

leadership. Illinois has every reason to be proud of the more than seven hundred young men and women who have received diplomas from the Illinois School for the Deaf and the thousands of others who have attended the school but for various reasons did not complete the entire course.

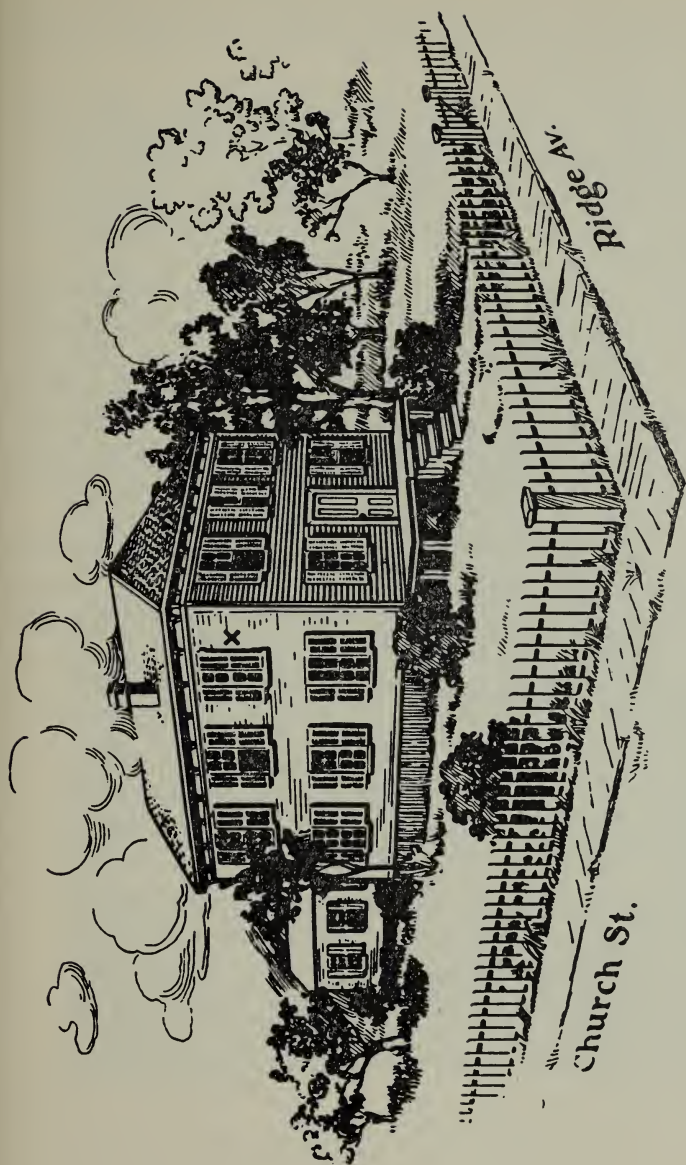
HISTORICAL NOTES

THE "ABRAHAM LINCOLN HOUSE" IN EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

Two recent letters to a Chicago newspaper concerning Abraham Lincoln's visit to Evanston in 1860 have darkened counsel by words without knowledge: one (a fairly good account of the chief facts) stated that the house where Lincoln spent the night was still standing on Elmwood Avenue; the other (apparently emanating from some congenital and irreclaimable skeptic) denied flatly that Lincoln had ever been an overnight guest in any Evanston home.

The actual circumstances concerning this visit are as fully recorded and documented as the dates of the surrender of Fort Sumter or the Declaration of Independence. In 1914, J. Seymour Currey, president of the Evanston Historical Society, published an admirable monograph, *Abraham Lincoln's Visit to Evanston in 1860*, which is a model of exhaustive research and confirmatory documentation, and which gives many vivid details concerning the event. The chief facts are these.

In April 1860, Abraham Lincoln, having become a national figure by reason of his great Cooper Institute speech in New York City, was spending some time in Chicago as one of the counsel in the notable "Sand Bar" case. His old friend, Mr. (soon after, "General") Julius White, invited him to be a guest in his Evanston home, which stood at the northwest corner of Ridge Avenue and Church Street. Lincoln was brought out to the village (then numbering about 1,200 inhabitants) on April 5, 1860, by Harvey B. Hurd, a founder and first president of the Evanston Historical Society; on arrival, he was given a carriage ride about the place by Julius White, and then taken to the latter's residence. Many villagers came to the home, and were received by Mr. Lincoln, who also made a speech to a growing crowd from the front steps of the house; later, he spent the night under Mr. White's roof. Mr. Currey collected unimpeachable statements, verbal and written, from many



THE RESIDENCE OF JULIUS WHITE IN 1860 WHERE
LINCOLN WAS ENTERTAINED

who were present, among them the first citizens of the college town, most of whom were later personally known and highly respected by the present writer.

About 1884, General White's residence was moved eight blocks to a site at 1227 Elmwood Avenue, immediately south of the old Township High School, in a different quarter of the city, and was acquired by A. D. Sanders, who remodeled it to conform to more modern requirements. He added a third story, built a projecting gabled front-wing, a verandah and a bay window.

In order to extend the High School property, the land on which the house stood was bought by the educational authorities, and Mr. Sanders was confronted by the situation of having a superfluous house on land which he could not use. Accordingly, he sold the house "down the river," for a small sum, and it was again moved, in 1926, into the heart of Evanston's Negro section where it stands today at 2009 Dodge Avenue. It is occupied (rather appropriately) by colored tenants.

It is an interesting phenomenon of human psychology that the residents of not less than five other homes in various parts of Evanston have proudly claimed (with no shadow of evidence) that *their* house was the one in which Lincoln spent the night.

A proposal has been made to place the following tablet on the venerable building:

IN THIS HOUSE
ABRAHAM LINCOLN
SPENT THE NIGHT
APRIL 5th TO APRIL 6th
1860

CERTIFIED:
EVANSTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

JAMES TAFT HATFIELD.

EVANSTON, ILL.



PRESENT APPEARANCE OF THE "LINCOLN
HOUSE," EVANSTON



THE CARL BEANE CHANDLER CENOTAPH

There are few fairer beauty spots in all Illinois than the high bluff, sometimes called Grand Summit, at the edge of Chandlerville, in Cass County. From this point, which is now included in the Chandlerville Cemetery, the view stretches away for twenty miles to the west across the lovely valley of the Sangamon River. In the spring and all through the summer, the cultivated fields lie like a vast checkerboard upon the valley floor; and the distant meadows and sloughs, veiled in blue and silver, reach on and on to where a misty line marks the course of the Illinois. In the autumn, with the haze of Indian Summer brooding over it, the scene is one of infinite beauty and peace; and a winter sunset over the frozen valley is a picture to store away in memory.

Bordering the south edge of the valley are sister bluffs—a ten or twelve-mile line of them, hemming in for that distance one side of the level, low-lying road (a part of the Lincoln Memorial Highway) that leads from Chandlerville to Beardstown. Until a few decades ago, every Sunday afternoon ramble over these hills was rewarded by the finding of bits of flint and stone—arrowheads and the like, mementos of Indian days; and hardly beyond the memory of some of Chandlerville's oldest inhabitants are the Indian skeletons that once lay bleaching in the sun for years upon the nearer bluffs—the remains of Miami warriors who died here from their wounds while returning to their own country, near the present Indiana border, after their great battle with the Mascoutens on the site of the present city of Beardstown.

The memory of two men, both of whom arrived before the Red Man had left the state, is closely associated with Grand Summit—Dr. Charles Chandler, for whom the village at its base is named, and Thomas Beard, the founder of Beardstown.

It was in 1819, the summer that saw the signing of the treaty by which the Kickapoos and other tribes relinquished all of the "Sangamo Country" to the United States government, that Thomas Beard, an enterprising young man from New York, arrived at "Kickapoo Town," which by this time occupied the site of the Mascoutens village destroyed by the Miami and Iroquois, on the Illinois River just below the mouth of the Sangamon.

Beard had come up from Edwardsville on horseback—the last lap, as it proved, of his long journey to the new West in search of a promising location. For he perceived at once the future importance of the Illinois River to commerce when the white man should settle its fertile valley. The site of Kickapoo Town he recognized as a natural shipping point, and where stood the cluster of wigwams (and one very old cabin, left, it is said, by the French *voyageurs*), he visualized a thriving little city. Here he remained, trading with the Indians until the last one departed, establishing the first licensed ferry across the Illinois River, and eventually laying out and fostering for many years the town which was given his name and which today has fulfilled his dream.

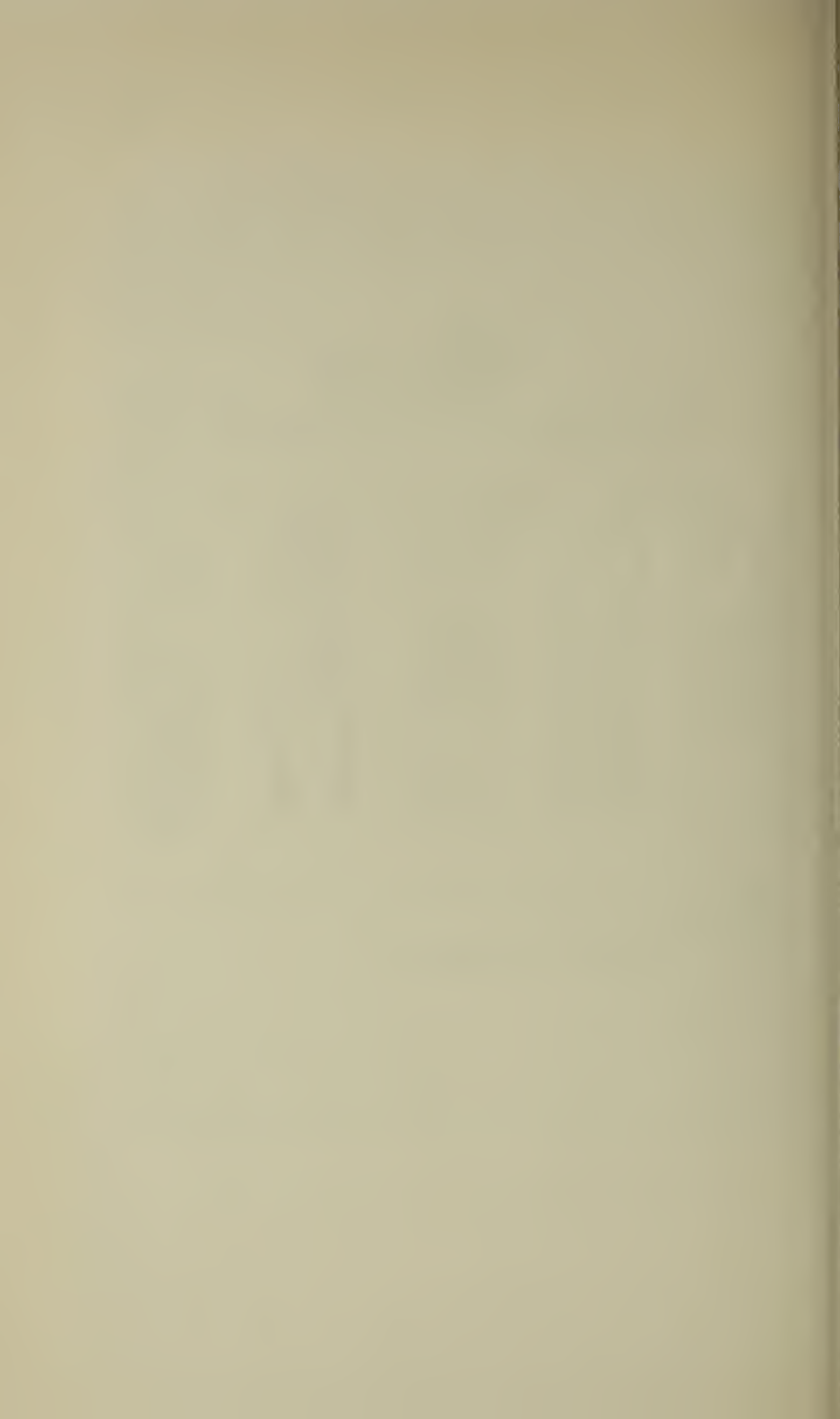
Dr. Chandler came in 1832. A native of Connecticut, he had graduated from a Vermont medical school, and had practiced his profession for a time in Rhode Island. Meanwhile he, too, had felt the westward urge. Accompanied by his wife and small daughter, he arrived at Beardstown, by way of the river, to find that place crowded with volunteers assembled at the call of Governor Reynolds, for service in the Black Hawk War. The original plan of the Chandlers would have taken them on to Fort Clark; but news of the Indian uprising had spread about, and only this little family of all the party that had journeyed together from New England, had had the courage to continue even as far north as Beardstown.

For several weeks Dr. Chandler rode out from Beardstown on horseback, first in one direction and then in another, in quest of a place to settle. Nothing, however, met his favor, until a day when Thomas Beard rode with him, and the two went eastward along the valley road—then a rough wagon trail—with the bluffs on their right and the flower-starred plain on their left. Coming at length to the foot of the hill later named Grand Summit, Beard led his companion up its steep side and from the top bade him look upon the wide, fertile valley spread out in panorama below.

Here the young physician from the East made his decision. He would enter land—such rich land as he had never before seen—at the foot of this bluff. And here, when he might, by locating in Springfield, Jacksonville or any other of the towns already settled, have gained wider renown in his profession, he elected to spend the remainder of his life. Founder and patron of the town of Chandler-



CHANDLER CENOTAPH AT CHANDLERVILLE



ville, he promoted throughout the years every enterprise by which the local frontier was built up, living, meanwhile, in fullest measure, the strenuous, sacrificial life of the pioneer doctor. In the latter connection it is interesting to note that Dr. Chandler is said to have been the first physician in Illinois to employ quinine in the treatment of malaria.

The spot on the brow of the bluff where Dr. Chandler and Mr. Beard stood on that day so long ago is now marked by the Carl Beane Chandler Cenotaph—four beautifully finished columns of light Barre granite, surmounted by a curving entablature of the same material—erected in memory of a grandson of Dr. Chandler, the late Mr. Carl Chandler, of Havana, Illinois. Mr. Chandler, for many years Secretary and General Manager of the Havana Metal Wheel Company, was born and reared in the valley of the Sangamon, and throughout his entire life, many of the later years of which were spent far from home, was fond of returning to the picturesque scenes of his childhood—perhaps most of all to Grand Summit, high above the site of the old Chandler homestead, of which landmark neither stick nor stone now stands, and but one of the lawn trees remains.

Thus it came about that after Mr. Chandler's death, in 1934, his wife, well known to *Journal* readers as Josephine Craven Chandler, and his sister, Nell Chandler Ott (Mrs. C. I. Ott), both of Washington, D.C., chose this spot for a memorial of beauty and distinction. Adapted from the Greek, the columns show a carving at the top suggesting the classic acanthus; and the slender, graceful structure, standing on the crest of the hill, has about it that atmosphere which instantly reminds one of Old World gardens, high above the blue Mediterranean.

It is intimately related to the familiar surroundings, however, by the bronze plaque which stands between the two center columns. The work of a Boston artist, Thomas Ward Dent, the plaque portrays the two men, Chandler and Beard, the latter pointing and the former gazing entranced, while the horses graze on the hillside. Beneath is the inscription:

This spot was beloved by Carl Beane Chandler because it was here that his grandfather, Doctor Charles Chandler, stood in April of 1832, when he chose

the Sangamon Valley for his home and for the site of the town of Chandlerville which he founded.

So exactly does the memorial occupy the spot where the incident took place that the pictured hillside and the actual one are but a few feet apart. The space immediately in front of the cenotaph is paved with flagstones, and a stone bench is so placed that one may sit at ease and look out upon the selfsame view which charmed the two pioneers. Late afternoon is the loveliest time, for then the light lies like a benediction across the far valley as one looks toward the west. At one's feet, on a small bronze plate, one reads the prayer of Socrates:

Beloved God of woods and streams,
grant us to be beautiful in the inner
man and all we have of outward things
to be at peace with those within.

A hundred years have not changed the essential face of nature. Little landscaping has been attempted or needed in the cemetery where—some yards back from the cenotaph—both the doctor and his grandson lie buried beneath the cedars and long summer grasses and wild flowers of the old Chandler lot; and were it not for the intervening bluffs, one could almost pick out the wilderness spot, five miles east of Beardstown, which is the resting place of Thomas Beard. The little half-forgotten Beard graveyard, with its great forest trees, lies well back from any road. To visit it as night is drawing on, when twilight has obliterated all signs of human life or habitation near, and when the whippoorwills for which the region is noted are singing back in the timber, is to absorb the illusion that time has not moved—that it is still a hundred years ago in that valley where Thomas Beard was often alone at night.

A distinct path has been worn to the Chandler Cenotaph from the nearest driveway in the Chandlerville Cemetery, for many visitors—perhaps glimpsing the memorial at a distance from the paved highway below—have sought it out and learned its story. Thus is fulfilled the wish of those who gave it—the wish that others might share the great pleasure which Carl Beane Chandler found in the view from this point and in the memories which it evoked of his grandfather and his grandfather's friend.

LORENE MARTIN.

LINCOLN AND THE REVEREND DR. JAMES SMITH

The election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency resulted in the rush of his personal friends for political office. Considered especially deserving was Dr. James Smith, the former pastor of Mrs. Lincoln. Dr. Smith was born in Glasgow on May 11, 1801, and after receiving an excellent education at Glasgow College, emigrated to the United States. He settled in Tennessee where he became the owner and editor of a newspaper. When his journalistic venture failed, Smith became the second pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Springfield, Illinois, in 1849.¹ In appearance Smith was large and stalwart; his voice had great carrying power and was admirably suited for speaking to large congregations. He seems to have been a strong and forcible representative of his sect.

In February, 1850, four-year-old Edward, Abraham Lincoln's second son, died. Smith was called in to conduct the funeral service. So impressed was Mrs. Lincoln by Smith that she joined his congregation in April, 1852, and Lincoln rented a pew, although he never joined himself.² In time Smith became an intimate friend of the Lincoln family and turned his efforts toward Lincoln's conversion. Exactly how successful Smith was cannot be ascertained, although it was apparent that Lincoln had a high opinion of Smith's ability.³

When Lincoln was elected to the presidency, Smith, who had retired from his Springfield pulpit late in 1856, presented his claims to the consulate at Glasgow. On February 8, 1861, John Forsythe, his son-in-law, wrote to Lincoln on Smith's behalf. "The Doctor [Smith]," Forsythe informed Lincoln, "is quite advanced in life and . . . is poor in this world's goods and therefore he needs some assistance to enable him and the old lady to support themselves in Scotland."⁴ At Smith's request, therefore, Forsythe solicited an appointment for his father-in-law as Consul at Glasgow.

¹ Joseph Wallace, *Past and Present of the City of Springfield and Sangamon County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1904), I: 497-98.

² Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858* (Boston, 1928), I: 505 and n.; William E. Barton, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Indianapolis, 1925), I: 327.

³ For the opinion that Smith converted Lincoln, see William E. Barton, *The Soul of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1920), *passim*; for the opposite view, see Ward H. Lamon, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Boston, 1872), 498-99.

⁴ James Smith, 1861-1863 folder, Applications and Recommendations for Office (MS, State Dep't. Archives, National Archives).

On March 9, Smith took his case into his own hands and wrote to Mrs. Lincoln, enclosing a letter to the President. When Forsythe applied for the consulship at Glasgow, Smith wrote, Lincoln promised that "*he would not forget it.*" Should he be appointed, Smith expected to take his two sons with him and "devote the Sabbath to preaching to large audiences of the destitute." Meanwhile, whatever money he had was tied up in the South and his land remained unproductive for lack of capital. In closing, Dr. Smith declared that he was convinced that God had raised the President to save the nation.⁵ To Lincoln Smith wrote in a similar vein; although preferring Glasgow, he would be satisfied with the consulship at Dundee.⁶

On June 10, 1861, Dr. Smith's son, Hugh, was appointed Consul at Dundee and he arrived at his post some time in August with his father, who was to be officially connected with the consulate. After reporting several vessels which he feared might be put in the service of the Confederacy, Hugh Smith resigned on account of ill health, leaving Scotland about the end of May. He left Dr. Smith in charge as Vice Consul.⁷

The irregularity of the proceedings by which Dr. Smith was appointed without the consent of the Department of State, undoubtedly irritated Secretary Seward. When Hugh Smith failed to reply to Seward's messages, the Secretary obtained the appointment of L. W. Hall who, however, declined.⁸ As soon as Dr. Smith was informed that he was being supplanted, he turned to John Forsythe. The latter wrote to Senator Orville H. Browning, who placed the matter before Lincoln. In addition, W. L. Underwood, Consul at Glasgow, wrote to Lincoln and Seward elaborating on Dr. Smith's need of the office for a livelihood.⁹

Dr. Smith apparently appealed for assistance to Mrs. Lincoln, who with her cousins pressed the President in favor of the old minister.¹⁰ Nor were they unsuccessful. The President, desirous of helping "an intimate personal friend," on January 14, 1863, requested Secretary Seward to prepare a nomination for Dr. Smith.¹¹ Accord-

⁵ James Smith folder.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Consular Despatches, Dundee, Vol. 3 (MS, State Dep't. Archives, National Archives).

⁸ Seward's Memorandum, Jan. 10, 1863, James Smith folder.

⁹ James Smith folder; Consular Despatches, Dundee, Vol. 3.

¹⁰ Barton, *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, II: 51.

¹¹ James Smith folder.

ingly, on February 18, the latter was appointed Consul at Dundee and officially entered upon the duties of his office on June 16. Dr. Smith continued as Consul until his death on July 3, 1871, and satisfactorily conducted the affairs of the post which Lincoln had so kindly conferred upon him.

ALBERT POST.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

(In 1834 Harriet Martineau, English author, philosopher, and social reformer, visited the United States. There she remained for two years, traveling extensively and observing closely. Upon her return to England she published her observations under the title, *Society in America*—a philosophical discussion of the political and social state of the young country she had visited. Soon afterward she brought out *Retrospect of Western Travel*—a lighter, more personal narrative of her American residence.

Retrospect of Western Travel was published in the United States by the newly established firm of Harper & Brothers. That firm, which is now celebrating its 125th anniversary, has just reissued the *Retrospect* in facsimile.¹ Informative, discerning, and never dull, the book is a valuable and enjoyable record of life in this country a century ago.

"The Illinois Scrapbook" for this issue is devoted exclusively to extracts from the *Retrospect of Western Travel*. The headings are the Editor's.—*Ed.*)

THE ROCKING CHAIR

In these small inns [in New York State] the disagreeable practice of rocking in the chair is seen in its excess. In the inn parlour are three or four rocking-chairs, in which sit ladies who are vibrating in different directions, and at various velocities, so as to try the head of a stranger almost as severely as the tobacco-chewer his stomach. How this lazy and ungraceful indulgence ever became general, I cannot imagine; but the nation seems so wedded to it, that I see little chance of its being forsaken. When American ladies come to live in Europe, they sometimes send home for a rocking-chair. A beloved pastor has every room in his house furnished with a rocking-chair by his grateful and devoted people. It is well that the gentlemen can be satisfied to sit still, or the world might be

¹ 2 vols., boxed. \$4.00.

treated with the spectacle of the sublime American Senate in a new position; its fifty-two senators see-sawing in full deliberation, like the wise birds of a rookery in a breeze. If such a thing should ever happen, it will be time for them to leave off laughing at the Shaker worship.

Vol. I: 72.

AMERICAN PLACE NAMES

Syracuse in the State of New York! I often wonder whether it is yet too late to revert to the Indian names, to undo the mischief which has been done by boys fresh from their smattering of the classics, who have gone into the forest to hew out towns and villages. I heard many Americans say that the State of New-York ought to be called Ontario, and the city Manhattan. But, so far from bringing back the nomenclature to a better state, we not only find Utica, Syracuse, Manlius, and Camillus, and the village of Geneva on Seneca Lake, with Ithaca at its other extremity, but the village of Chittenango actually baptized into Sullivan; and all this in the neighbourhood of the lakes Onondago, Cayuga, and Owasco. It is as bad as the English in Van Diemen's Land, who, if I remember rightly, have got Palmyra, Richmond, and Jericho all in a line.

Vol. I: 84.

THE FREE SOIL OF ILLINOIS

When I went up on deck I found the sun shining on the full Ohio, which was now as turbid as the Mississippi, from the recent storms. The stream stood in among the trees on either bank to a great depth and extent, it was so swollen. The most enormous willows I ever saw overhung our deck, and the beechen shades beyond, where the turf and unencumbered stems were dressed in translucent green, seemed like a palace of the Dryads. How some of us fixed our eyes on the shores of free Illinois! After nearly five months of sojourn in slaveland, we were now in sight of a free state once more. I saw a settler in a wild spot, looking very lonely among the tall trees; but I felt that I would rather be that man than the wealthiest citizen of the opposite state, who was satisfied to dwell there among his slaves.

Vol. II: 25.

FREEDOM VS. SLAVERY: ILLINOIS AND MISSOURI

The consequences of the compromise began to show themselves first in the difference between the character of the population in Missouri and Illinois, the latter of which is two years older than the former. They lie opposite each other on the Mississippi, and both are rich in advantages of soil, climate, and natural productions. They showed, however, social differences from the very beginning of their independent career, which are becoming more striking every day. Rapacious adventurers, who know that the utmost profit of slaves is made by working them hard on a virgin soil, began flocking to Missouri, while settlers who preferred smaller gains to holding slaves sat down in Illinois. When it was found, as it soon was, that slavery does not answer so well in the farming parts of Missouri as on the new plantations of the South, a farther difference took place. New settlers perceived that, in point of immediate interest merely, the fine lands of Missouri were less worth having, with the curse of slavery upon them, than those of Illinois without it. In vain has the price of land been lowered in Missouri as that in Illinois rose. Settlers go first and look at the cheaper land; some remain upon it; but many recross the river and settle in the rival state. This enrages the people of Missouri. Their soreness and jealousy, combined with other influences of slavery, so exasperate their prejudices against the people of colour as to give a perfectly diabolical character to their hatred of negroes and the friends of negroes.

Vol. II: 29-30.

OF ENGLISH LECTURERS

Many English persons have made up their minds that there is very little originality in America, except in regions where such men as David Crockett grow up. In the wilds of Tennessee and Kentucky twenty years ago, and now in Arkansas and Missouri, where bear-hunting and the buffalo chase are still in full career, it is acknowledged that a man's natural bent may be seen to advantage, and his original force must be fully tested. But it is asked, with regard to America, whether there is not much less than the average amount of originality of character to be found in the places where men operate upon one another. It is certain that there is an intense

curiosity in Americans about English oddities; and a prevailing belief among themselves that England is far richer in humorists than the United States. It is also true that the fickleness and impressibility of the Americans (particularly of the New-Englanders) about systems of science, philosophy, and morals, exceed anything ever seen or heard of in the sober old country; but all this can prove only that the nation and its large divisions are not original in character, and not that individuals of that character are wanting.

It should be remembered that one great use of a metropolis, if not the greatest, is to test everything for the benefit of the whole of the rest of the country. The country may, according to circumstances, be more or less ready to avail itself of the benefit; but the benefit exists and waits for acceptance. Now the Americans have no metropolis. Their cities are all provincial towns. It may be, in their circumstances, politically good that they should have the smallest possible amount of centralization; but the want of this centralization is injurious to their scientific and philosophical progress and dignity, and, therefore, to their national originality. A conjurer's trip through the English counties is very like the progress of a lecturer or newly-imported philosopher through the American cities. The wonder, the excitement, the unbounded credulity are much alike in the two cases; but in the English village there may be an old man under the elm smiling good-naturedly at the show without following after it; or a sage young man who could tell how the puppets are moved as well as if he saw the wires. And so it is in the American cities. The crowd is large, but everybody is not in it; the believers are many, but there are some who foresee how soon the belief will take a new turn.

Vol. II: 187-88.

NEWS AND COMMENT

AN APPEAL TO MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

SAVE SOLDIERS' LETTERS

The history of this war can never be written in its entirety from the reports of commanding officers and the dispatches of war correspondents. Neither type of potential historical material takes full account of the men in the ranks or below deck. But these men speak for themselves of their daily activities, their privations, their aspirations, their failures and their successes, and they speak most vividly in their letters to their families and friends.

You who have sons and relatives and friends in the service—please save their letters. And urge your acquaintances to save the service letters they are receiving. You may not want to part with them now, nor for years in the future. All right. That is of minor importance now. What is important is that the letters be preserved, so that eventually they will find their way into repositories of historical material and thus make their indispensable contribution to the story of one of history's greatest epochs.



One of the greatest research libraries of the nation is the William L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan. This institution, named for the donor of the building and the principal collections, was opened in 1923. Since then scholars, especially those who are concerned with 18th century American history, have found it a rich source of basic materials. The general nature of its collections is well known, but not until very recently has an inclusive guide to its holdings been available. This publication—*Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the William L. Clements Library*, by Howard H. Peckham, Curator of Manuscripts¹—lists and describes, not exhaustively but adequately, all the manuscript collections and all the manuscript

¹ University of Michigan Press, \$7.50.

maps. Historical scholars will find it to be a valuable tool; and custodians of manuscript collections having similar publications in mind can follow no better model.



Carl Sandburg has gone over the four massive volumes of his *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years*, selected paragraphs, sentences, sometimes only phrases, and skilfully woven them into an integrated, fast-moving narrative to which he has given the title, *Storm Over the Land: A Profile of the Civil War*.² The change in emphasis which comes from rigorous but wise selection, and the many new illustrations and maps, give the resulting volume the fresh appeal of a new book.

Storm Over the Land is considerably more than a profile. All the major campaigns of the war are described, and the author has found room not only for thumbnail sketches of military leaders, but also for many pictures of life in the ranks. As a result, the book stands apart from that too-numerous list of military histories which treat of the human beings engaged in war as if they were nothing more than inanimate pawns.

Although this book includes less than a tenth of *The War Years*, much of the literary wizardry that characterized the larger work has carried over to the shorter one. Every now and then, in its pages, one glimpses the sombre beauty of majestic prose. Nowhere in all Sandburg's writing—and one is tempted to omit the qualification—is there anything finer than his epilogue to the Battle of Gettysburg, with which chapter 15 ends.

Any reader who wants a one-volume history of the Civil War in which all phases of that tragic conflict are narrated with the distinction that one encounters only rarely in historical writing will make no mistake choosing *Storm Over the Land*.



In *Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis*³ David M. Potter has produced what is by long odds the best account of Lincoln's plans and course of action from the time of his election to the pres-

² Harcourt, Brace, \$3.50.

³ Yale University Press, \$3.75.

idency in November, 1860, to the outbreak of war on April 12, 1861.

A book as closely reasoned and as fully documented as this cannot be summarized. One may say, however, that Professor Potter believes that at the time of his inauguration, Lincoln expected the Union to be saved, and thought it could be saved without bloodshed. His policy was to refrain from irritating the South by the performance of federal functions there, at the same time holding Fort Sumter as the symbol of national authority. Union sentiment in the South, he was convinced, would gradually overcome secession acts and tendencies.

Lincoln's plan was based on the assumption that Sumter could be held passively. When it became apparent that it would have to be provisioned or abandoned, he was willing to give it up if Fort Pickens could be retaken. Only when it was evident that the Pickens relief expedition had been so badly bungled that the fort could not be taken before Anderson's provisions gave out did he order the Sumter relief expedition to go forward.

Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis is a careful study of a period which has hitherto been covered mainly by guesswork. It is one of the most important contributions to Lincolniana in recent years.



Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis should be read in conjunction with *The Coming of the Civil War*,⁴ by Professor Avery O. Craven of the University of Chicago. Craven devotes just twelve of his 440 pages to the subject of Potter's book, and that, one assumes, is his estimate of the relative importance of the period immediately before Sumter in bringing on the war in comparison with the three decades that preceded it.

The title of one of Craven's earlier books—*The Repressible Conflict, 1830-1861*⁵—suggests the conclusion to which he comes in this new and detailed study. "Stripped of false assumptions," he writes, "the tragedy of the nation in bloody strife from 1861 to 1865 must, in large part, be charged to a generation of well-meaning Americans, who, busy with the task of getting ahead, permitted their short-sighted politicians, their over-zealous editors, and their pious

⁴ Charles Scribner's Sons, \$3.75.

⁵ Louisiana State University Press, \$1.50.

reformers to emotionalize real and potential differences and to conjure up distorted impressions of those who dwelt in other parts of the nation. . . . In time a people came to believe that social security, constitutional government and the freedom of all men were at stake in their sectional differences; that the issues were between right and wrong; good and evil. Opponents became devils in human form. Good men had no choice but to kill and to be killed."

Many a Northerner will accuse Craven of pro-southern bias; many a Southerner will resent some of his conclusions. That is the price the historian pays for an effort at impartiality. But whether readers accept Craven's conclusions or not, they can hardly fail to be impressed by his mastery of his subject and his skill in presenting it.



Wood Gray, author of *The Hidden Civil War*,⁶ is a native of Petersburg, Illinois. As a boy in that little city, where Abraham Lincoln was once known to every inhabitant, he came to know every type of Middle Westerner—those who had fought the Civil War, and those who had fought against it. It is with these last—the Copperheads—that his book is concerned.

The Copperheads, named for the poisonous snake that strikes without warning, were of all kinds. Some were of Southern descent, some were champions of slavery, some were states-rights pedants, some were venal traitors, and some were simply spineless. Whatever their motives, all were in favor, after the first flush of war fever in 1861, of making peace with the South at almost any price. And many of them participated in overt acts clearly treasonable in nature.

Mr. Gray, now Associate Professor of History at George Washington University, builds his story carefully and solidly on contemporary sources—mainly newspapers and manuscript collections. Its emphasis is on the Middle West, not only because the author knows that section best, but also because it was the scene of the most spectacular disloyal activities. He makes it clear, however, that the Copperhead movement was not exclusively Middle Western. There was plenty of disloyal sentiment in the East, but the

⁶ Viking Press, \$3.75.

peace men there never succeeded in capturing the party machinery, and had to content themselves with what Mr. Gray calls "fussy constitutionalism."

Although Mr. Gray is content in the main to describe and explain, he draws two morals. One is that the Copperheads of the Civil War were a type to be expected in any conflict, and that they "necessitate a constant vigilance." The other is that in spite of the Copperheads, the great majority of the people were willing to carry the war through to the end, cost what it might. So they will again.



Covering the same general field as *The Hidden Civil War*, but different in both content and treatment, is *Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column*, by George Fort Milton.⁷ Gray's book deals mainly with mass manifestations of discontent; Milton emphasizes personalities. Gray focusses on disloyalty in the Middle West; Milton covers the entire North. Gray's is a scholarly production, heavily documented; Milton's work comes closer to the popular.

In any book on this subject one would expect to find Clement L. Vallandigham, the Ohio constitutional objector who finally crossed the line to treason, and Horatio Seymour, the New York Governor who, though objecting often and strenuously to the "illegal" acts of the administration, remained loyal to the Union. Milton, however, introduces the reader to characters not so well known—Dr. George W. L. Bickley, organizer of the Knights of the Golden Circle; Phineas C. Wright, Supreme Grand Commander of the Sons of Liberty; General Henry B. Carrington, under whose direction effective Federal espionage was carried on in the Middle West; and Felix Grundy Stidger, the Federal spy who exposed Copperhead plans to seize Federal arsenals and prison camps in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. In fact, Milton's emphasis on espionage and its results is one of the strong features of his book.

Read together, *The Hidden Civil War* and *Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column* give one a complete picture of disloyalty in the North during the Civil War.

⁷ Vanguard Press, \$3.50.

The Lincolns in Tennessee, by Samuel C. Wilson,⁸ covers three subjects: the Tennessee branch of the Lincoln family, Abraham Lincoln's relations with Andrew Johnson, and the concern of Lincoln, as Civil War President, for the East Tennessee loyalists.

Isaac Lincoln, son of that John Lincoln whom genealogists know as "Virginia John," settled on the Watauga River about 1773. Somewhat later a sister of Isaac, and two nephews, also located in Tennessee. While none of the Tennessee Lincolns ever rose to eminence, Judge Williams concludes, from incontrovertible sources, that they gave "every evidence that they were not representatives, or descendants of representatives, of 'the most unpromising stock on the continent,' " as Woodrow Wilson once characterized the Lincoln family.

Judge Wilson covers his other two subjects summarily. His book is a revision of a series of articles recently published in Lincoln Memorial University's magazine, *The Lincoln Herald*.



Otto Eisenschiml calls his autobiography *Without Fame*.⁹ That title seems to be unduly modest. Eisenschiml the chemist must be known to thousands, Eisenschiml the author (*Why Was Lincoln Murdered?, In the Shadow of Lincoln's Death*) to other thousands, and Eisenschiml the lecturer to still other thousands. One ventures the guess, moreover, that in the future this wise and entertaining autobiography will greatly enlarge the author's circle of friends and admirers.

Without Fame is the life story of an unusual man. That story starts in Vienna, where Eisenschiml was born in 1880 of naturalized American parents. Getting an education was not too easy, for the family was in straitened circumstances, but Eisenschiml managed it, and graduated from the Vienna Polytechnical Institute with highest honors. Then he took the first boat for the United States.

There followed years of work as a chemist in steel mills, glass factories, and oil plants. Finally he established his own business, the Scientific Oil Compounding Company of Chicago. But from the

⁸ Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tenn. Deluxe Edition, \$2; Regular Edition, \$1.

⁹ Alliance Book Corporation, \$3.50.

beginning his restless, original mind refused to be quieted by routine. Invention after invention followed—one of the earliest deodorants, window envelopes, rust-proof barbed wire, and many others. History attracted him, and eventually claimed serious study. Again the restless mind asserted itself, and *Why Was Lincoln Murdered?*, about which historians are likely to argue forever, was the result. All in all, Eisenschiml's life has been a busy one, and, if one can judge from the tone of his account of it, a happy one.

Without Fame has a subtitle—"The Romance of a Profession." To at least one reader, whose lack of interest in chemistry is matched only by his ignorance of it, it turned out to be not only a romance, but a fascinating one. That, he believes, is due to the manner of the telling. To Otto Eisenschiml's already long list of eminent attributes should be added another—deft worker with words.



On November 1, 1942, appeared the first issue of *Book Week*, the full-fledged literary supplement of the *Chicago Sun*. Like its New York prototypes, *Book Week* contains reviews by well known critics, feature articles on books and authors, and a department devoted to rare and fine books. Many Middle Westerners, long dissatisfied with the inadequate coverage of books by the newspapers of the region, will welcome the new supplement.



In the *Blue Book of Illinois, 1941-1942*, appeared a detailed chronology of Illinois history from 1673 to 1941, compiled by Margaret A. Flint, Reference Librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library. The chronology can now be obtained in pamphlet form, without charge, from the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield. Available also is a new edition of *The Story of Illinois, 1673-1940*, by Paul M. Angle, reprinted from the *Blue Book* for 1939-1940.



Jacksonville, county seat of Morgan County, home of statesmen, site of colleges and public welfare institutions, was host to members of the Illinois State Historical Society at their annual meeting

on October 2 and 3. The attendance, in spite of war time distractions and restrictions on travel, was larger than at any meeting of the Society for many years.

The following program was carried out: Friday, October 2, 2:30 P.M., at Illinois College, Dr. Carl E. Black, President Morgan County Historical Society, presiding, "College Life in Illinois a Hundred Years Ago," Ernest G. Hildner, Illinois College, and "The Indigent Lincoln," Harry E. Pratt, Springfield; 4:15 P.M., tea at the David A. Smith House, Illinois College; 6:45 P.M., annual dinner at the Hotel Dunlap, John H. Hauberg, President Illinois State Historical Society, presiding, "Southern Attitudes Toward Abraham Lincoln," Avery O. Craven, University of Chicago, and "Dorothea Lynde Dix: Redemptress of the Insane," Rodney Brandon, Director, Department of Public Welfare; Saturday, October 3, 9:30 A.M. at MacMurray College, "Jacksonville's State Institutions," Dr. Carl E. Black, Jacksonville; 10:00 A.M., demonstration at State School for the Blind, Dr. Robert W. Woolston, Managing Officer; 11:00 A.M., demonstration at State School for the Deaf, Dan T. Cloud, Superintendent; 12:15 P.M. at MacMurray College, complimentary luncheon, Jewell F. Stevens, Vice-President, Illinois State Historical Society, presiding, "History in War Time," Dr. H. Gary Hudson, President, Illinois College, and Dr. Walter B. Hendrickson, MacMurray College, the latter in place of Dr. Clarence P. McClelland, President MacMurray College.

Jewell F. Stevens, Chicago, was elected President of the Society. Other officers named are: Wayne C. Townley, Bloomington, senior vice-president; Richard L. Beyer, Carbondale, Dwight F. Clark, Evanston, Ernest E. East, Peoria, Theodore C. Pease, Urbana, and George W. Smith, Carbondale, vice-presidents; Paul M. Angle, Springfield, secretary-treasurer.

The following Directors of the Society, whose terms expired this year, were re-elected: James A. James, Evanston; Hermon Dunlap Smith, Lake Forest; James G. Randall, Urbana; John H. Hauberg, Rock Island; Dwight F. Clark, Evanston. Frank J. Heinl, Jacksonville, was also named as a director in place of Willard R. Matheny, who resigned some months earlier upon entering the United States Army.

The establishment of the Bishop Hill colony in northern Illinois ninety-six years ago was commemorated on September 23 at the Old Settlers' reunion in Bishop Hill. The founding of this Swedish communal settlement has been observed annually since 1896.



The Boone County Historical Society has become an incorporated organization and is now looking forward to the time when it will have a permanent home to be used as a museum and meeting place. Contributions of money and real estate to be used for that purpose are being sought by members of a new committee appointed by President Fred Marean.

The life of Simon P. Doty, Boone County pioneer, was the theme of the Boone County Historical Society's meeting on September 14. Mrs. Arthur J. Tripp was in charge of the program. She was assisted by Mrs. Floyd Smith, Mrs. Warren Lampert, Mrs. Thad Graves, R. V. Carpenter, Fred Warren, Fred Marean and John Tripp.

At the October meeting of the Society, Mrs. William Culvey described her work on a scrapbook of clippings and photographs relating to Boone County organizations which she started last June. A report on the tour of Galena made by members of the Illinois State Historical Society last May was given by Fred Marean.



A gift of \$100 to the Bureau County Historical Society is promised by F. S. Fowler of Princeton if nine other people will also give \$100 each. The Society has recently made a drive for new members but more money is needed than that provided by the \$1.00 annual membership dues.

The use of an extra room in the courthouse for the Society's museum and library has recently been granted by the board of supervisors. The steady increase in historical materials has made this expansion necessary. Among the recent additions are six volumes of *Harper's Weekly*, 1858-1863, from the estate of the late Miss Fannie Moseley. A Minie ball, picked up at the Gettysburg battlefield, has been lent by F. S. Fowler. Small booklets dating back to 1819 and 1825 have been given to the museum by the Coulter family.

The annual reunion of the Lawndale-Crawford Historical Association (Chicago) was held on September 24. Entertainment was provided by the program committee under the direction of Mrs. Nellie A. Hempenius, chairman. An exhibit of pictures and relics of the early days of the community was arranged by Mrs. Marie Melberg, secretary-historian.



The program of the first fall meeting of the South Shore Historical Society (Chicago) each year is planned to honor some outstanding person in the community. This year George Abel was the honored guest. Miss Esther Nelson, assisted by Mrs. June Wallace Ormsby and Mrs. Wesley Blades, was in charge of the program. An informal social hour at the close of the meeting was arranged by Mrs. Ella F. Divine, social chairman.



The Jersey County Historical Society was reorganized at a meeting held in Jerseyville on October 5. The revival of the Society was sponsored by the Community Service Department of the Jerseyville Woman's Club. A large amount of historical material collected by the old historical society has been stored in the basement of the courthouse. One of the objects of the new Society is to find a permanent place for these records and other materials where they will not only be safe but also available to the public.

Officers elected for the new organization include: Joseph R. Fulkerson, Jerseyville, president; Mrs. James A. Brannan, first vice-president and custodian; Arthur Thatcher, second vice-president and historian; Mrs. Joseph M. Page and Mrs. Charles White, honorary vice-presidents; Mrs. Helen S. Updike, secretary; Prentiss D. Cheney, treasurer; Mrs. H. R. Gledhill, T. S. Chapman, Mrs. Fred W. Howell and Dr. J. G. Schwarz, directors.



Dr. W. A. Wheeler, president of the Edwards County Historical Society since 1939, died in Albion on August 28. Resolutions of regret at his death were passed by members of the Society at their

meeting on September 14. New officers elected for the coming year include: William H. Siefferman, president; Mrs. Edna Gubbins, vice-president; Miss Alice Bradshaw, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Grace Terry, recording secretary; Mrs. W. A. Wheeler, treasurer. Mrs. Virginia Strawn Skinner was appointed program chairman and Edgar L. Dukes custodian of the museum.



The new Kaskaskia State Park was dedicated on October 18. Ivan A. Palmer, assistant director of the Department of Public Works and Buildings, gave the dedicatory address in the absence of Governor Green. Formal presentation of the Historical Overlook and Constitutional Marker was made by the Daughters of the American Revolution with Mrs. James W. Twitchell and Mrs. O. H. Christ representing the organization. L. W. Rodenberg, blind poet of Jacksonville, read his verses, "To a Sunken City." The old bell of Kaskaskia, a church bell cast in 1741 and presented to the Catholic Church at Kaskaskia by the King of France, was on display. The bell, now retired from active service, is kept in the Catholic Church at the new Kaskaskia.



A new village of 100 homes, lying north of Joliet, was formally named Lidice on July 12. Named in memory of the martyrs of Lidice, Czechoslovakia, a hamlet recently destroyed by the Germans, the citizens of the Illinois Lidice dedicated a granite monument to the memory of the citizens of the Czech village.



The following persons were the 1942 winners in the annual essay contest sponsored by the Morgan County Historical Society: Miss Bertha Miner, Winchester, first prize; Miss Mabel Goltra, Jacksonville, second prize; Mrs. Otto Dorr, Chandlerville, Miss Fae Shuey, Jacksonville, C. C. Carter, Bluffs, and Miss Fanny Grassly, Jacksonville, honorable mention. Fifty dollars in prize money was subscribed by citizens who are interested in the work of the Morgan County Historical Society.

Several papers on pioneer families in Macon County have been read at recent meetings of the Macon County Historical Society. In September an account of the Veech family was given by Mrs. Verna Derr of Oakley. On the same program, the history of the early school in the neighborhood of the Antioch Christian Church was presented by J. W. Carter.



The friction between Chicago and the downstate area of Illinois was the subject of the talk made by Professor William Philip, Bradley College, at the October meeting of the Peoria Historical Society.



Dr. Clarence P. McClelland, president of MacMurray College, was guest speaker at the November meeting of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County. His subject was "History in War Time."



The Dickson Cemetery in Rock Island has been acquired by the State of Illinois to be used as an outdoor museum in connection with the Hauberg Museum at Black Hawk State Park. This two-acre area, containing Indian corn hills which have been preserved through the years by a heavy covering of sod, was once extensively cultivated by the Sauk and Fox Indians.



Members of the Rock Island Historical Society held a dinner meeting on October 9. A program on the history of Indian tribes who lived in and near what is now Black Hawk State Park was presented by John H. Hauberg, Jr., and Robert Edlen. Miss Helen Marshall and Mrs. M. H. Lyon, Jr., were in charge of arrangements for the dinner.



Father Gabriel de la Ribourde is among 111 American martyrs whose beatification cause is being promoted by the American bishops. Documents forwarded to Rome furnish proof of his death

at the hands of Indians on September 19, 1680, near Starved Rock. A monument to the memory of Father Ribourde at St. Patrick's Church, Seneca, was dedicated in the summer of 1933.



When the Swedish Historical Society of Rockford met on October 5, Dr. Carl G. Wallenius of Evanston was the guest speaker. His subject was "The Emigrant from the High North."



A granite stone marking the Detroit-Kaskaskia Indian trail was dedicated by the Sidell Woman's Club on October 4. The marker is located at the farm home of Mrs. Mary Mahoney, two miles southwest of Sidell, where the trail may still be seen. Dr. J. B. Ruyle, Champaign, was the chief speaker. Also included on the program was a paper by Mrs. Mahoney, the hostess of the day, entitled "My Fifty-Nine Years on the Indian Trail," which was read by her granddaughter, Emmy Lou Mahoney. Oliver D. Mann, Danville, Ben Nussbaum, Fairbury, and C. C. Burford, Urbana, were also on the program.



The Southern Illinois Historical Society held its annual fall dinner meeting at Carbondale on October 29. Irving Dilliard, editorial writer on the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, spoke on "Bloody Island," scene of many dramatic events on the Mississippi River. Special music was furnished by students of the Southern Illinois Normal University.



The Stark County Old Settlers' Association held its sixty-fifth annual reunion at Toulon on August 20. A full day's program of events was arranged, with Clyde E. Stone, Illinois Supreme Court Justice of Peoria, making the principal address. Relics of pioneer days were placed on exhibition by the Stark County Historical Society in its room in the Toulon Public Library.

At the annual meeting of the Stark County Historical Society all the officers were re-elected. They include: H. W. Walker, pres-

ident; W. C. Auble, vice-president; Miss Annie Lowman, secretary; Miss Clare McKenzie, treasurer. Directors elected are W. C. Auble, Mrs. Margaret Shinn and Miss Annie Lowman. Hold-over directors are Mrs. Louise Younger, Dr. W. F. Jones, James M. Armstrong. H. W. Walker, John V. Colwell, and Miss Lucille McKee.

CONTRIBUTORS

Edith Steinbrecher, one of Chicago's best known civic leaders, is the widow of Paul Steinbrecher, trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library until his death in 1937. . . . H. Gary Hudson is President of Illinois College. Walter B. Hendrickson is Professor of History at MacMurray College. . . . George T. Ness, Jr., is a member of the faculty in the Department of History at Baltimore Polytechnic Institute, Baltimore, Maryland. . . . Jeanne LeBron is Mrs. H. H. Karl, formerly a newspaper woman at Galena, Illinois, She is now employed by the War Department in San Antonio, Texas. . . . Minnie Wait Cleary, formerly a teacher at the Illinois School for the Deaf, lives in Jacksonville, Illinois. Her article was one of those which received honorable mention in the 1941 essay contest of the Morgan County Historical Society.

INDEX, 1942

- Aaron, Charles..... 50
 Abbott, Fidelia..... 95
 Abbott, Isabel R.....98-99
 Abel, George.....413
 Abolition movement
 early Galesburg leaders.....216-24
 female leaders.....224-25
 and Liberty Party in Galesburg..
 226-35
 See also Anti-slavery movement
Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column
 (book).....408
 Abraham Lincoln Memorial Garden
 (Lake Springfield)..... 48
 Acosta, Don Thomas de..63, 64, 66, 68
 Adams County, Ill.....176, 227, 230
 Adams County, Historical Society of
 Quincy and.....97, 415
 Adkins, Charles..... 31
 Ahlenius, R. O.....202
 Air Corps Technical School (Cha-
 nute Field).....23-24
Albany Cultivator
 quoted.....81-82
 Aldrich, Darragh.....301
 Allegheny College.....115
 Alsterlund, Mrs. Louis J..... 98
 Alton, Ill..... 37
 American Anti-Slavery Society.....217
American Archivist, The..... 89
 American Asylum (Hartford, Conn.)368
 American Car and Foundry Co.
 (Madison, Ill.).....25, 26
 American Federation of Labor
 Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. 26
 American Home Missionary Society
 218n., 251, 258
 American Imprints Inventory.....175
 American Legion Auxiliary..... 97
 American Party.....133
 Ames, Adelbert.....344
And Never Yield (book).....302-303
 Ander, O. F..... 90
 Anderson, Mrs. H. H.....321
 Anderson, Nels.....303
 Anderson, Norman K.....314
 Andrews, Ella.....346
 Angle, Paul M.
 articles by.....213-15, 410
 letter to.....294-95
 officer, Ill. State Hist. Soc.....411
 mentioned.....89, 90, 93, 196, 201
 Anna [Ill.] State Hospital..... 44
 Antioch College.....116
 Anti-slavery movement.....257-58
 See also Abolition movement
 Arango, Mrs. ———..... 74
 Archer, T. V.....388
 Arends, C. C..... 92
 Arkansas River
 commandants of post on.....59, 67
 fur trade on.....60, 66
 Indian tribes on.58, 61, 62, 64, 66, 68
 Armstrong, Duff.....302
 Armstrong, James M.....417
 Armstrong, John.....302
 Arnold, A. Otis..... 46
 Arthur, ———.....357
 Ashley, David.....220n.
 Ashley, William Henry.....359
 Astor, Mrs. Huntington.....146
 Astor, Mrs. William.....140
 Atchison, John.....364n.
 "Athens of the West" (Evanston,
 Ill.).....123
 Atkinson, Henry.....348

- Auble, W. C. 417
 Auburn, Ill. 34
 Audubon, John James
 journey up Mississippi R. 148-73
 Audubon, Lucy 149
 Augustana College 89, 90
 Augustana Historical Society 89, 90
 Aurora Historical Society 197
 Austin, Henry W. 199
 Austin, William 203
 Auwarter, Ella 96
 Ayars, C. G. 128
- Baehr, William F. 90
 Bagby, Albert Morris
 biographical sketch 140-47
 death 28
 Bagby, John Courts 143
 Bagby, Katharine McA. 144
 Bagby, Mary Agnes Scripps 143
 Baker, ——— 137
 Baker, Abel 381
 Baker, Edward D. 73-74
 Baker, Edward D., Jr. 74
 Baker, Mary Lee 73
 Balize, the (military post, 1770) 59
 Bannister, Henry 117, 125
 Bannister, Mary H. 127
 Baptist, John 72
 Baptist Church 250, 258
 Baptiste, G. 137
 Bardelmeier, Mrs. E. C. 96
 Barloga, Floyd L. 97, 204
 Barnard, George Gray 144, 145
 Barnes, Mrs. Nell Walsh 308
 Barnett, G. R. 97, 204, 312
 Barrett, George F. 22, 35
 Barrett, Oliver R. 93
 Barrett, Richard F. 369
 Barrows, Mrs. Robert S. 314
 Bartlett Frazier Co. 45
 Bayou Manchac 63
 Beard, Thomas 393-96
 Beardstown, Ill. 393, 394, 396
 Beaver skins 60
 Beck, Rose Mary 96
- Beckington, T. F. 90
 Beckwith, Helen 93, 310
 Beebe, Jesse 180
 Beebe, Maude 203
 Bell, John 276
 Belleville, Ill.
 Germans in 7-20
 Belmont, Mrs. August 146
 Bennet, Charles Redding
 348, 351n., 352, 353(?), 355
 Bennet, William 348, 351, 352(?), 364n.
 Benson, Arnold P. 21
 Berg, Gus 308
 Bergen, A. S. 231n., 232, 233, 235
 Bergh, Lois M. 199
 Bergquist, C. Emil 309
 Berthiaume, Marie 167n.
 Bessler, E. C. 97, 311-12
 Betts, Louis 31
 Beveridge, Albert J. 282
 Beveridge, Mrs. John L. 115
 Beyer, Richard L.
 article by 107-14
 mentioned 204, 205, 313, 411
Bibliography of Foreign Language News-
papers and Periodicals Published in
Chicago 194
 Bickley, George W. L. 408
 Bicyclers, costume for 298-99
 Big Muddy River 171
 Biggs, John D. 31
 Bird, Roy 94
 Birney, James G. 226, 227, 231
 Bishop Hill, Ill. 412
 Black, Carl E. 95, 411
 Black Dog (Indian chief) 58
 Black Hawk 236, 239, 243, 313
 Black Hawk State Park 313, 415
 Black Hawk War
 Stephenson in 348-51
 mentioned 239-40, 394
 Blades, Mrs. Wesley 413
 Blaine, James G. 345
 Blanchard, Jonathan
 224n., 232, 233, 234, 235
 Blanchard, Mrs. Jonathan (Mary) 225

- Bliss, Mrs. J. H. 197
 Bloom, Henry C. 98
 Bloomington, Ill. 185
Blue Book of Illinois, 1941-1942 410
 Bluffs, Ill. 44
 Blunt, Raymond S. 91, 309
 Bogotá, Colombia. 74
Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades . . . 74
 Bolívar, Simon. 76
 Bon Coeur, Mrs. Edith Vade. 201
 Bonelli, Richard. 146
 Bonnell, Clarence 314
 Boone, Daniel. 81
 Boone County Historical Society . . .
 90, 198, 307, 412
 Booth, Mrs. Harry T. 93, 310
 Border, Andrew. 222
 Borglum, Gutzon. 29
 Boudreau, Mrs. Victor. 201
 Bougainville, Charlotte P. 167n.
 Bowen, ———. 251
 Bowen, A. L. 33, 388
 Bowles, Mrs. Nellie. 292
 Bowley, William. 308
 Bowling, ———. 355
 Boxer Uprising. 345
 Boy Scouts. 97
 Boyd, G. W. 201
 Boyle, John S. 91
 Brackenridge, H. M. 166n.
 Bradshaw, Alice. 200, 414
 Brady, Eliza. 357
 Brady, Mathew B. 86
 Branch, Mrs. W. M. 94
 Brandon, Rodney H. 22, 388, 411
 Brannan, Mrs. James A. 413
 Braun, Jacob. 382
 Brennan, Martin A. 41
 Brentano, Lorenz. 286, 287
 Brentano, Theodore. 286
Brethren in Northern Illinois and Wisconsin (book). 86-87
 Brigham, W. B. 95
 British
 defeated at New Orleans. 72
 at Fort Bute. 64
 at Fort Chartres. 57, 60
 in Illinois Country. 58-59
 traders. 67-68
 mentioned. 63, 65, 70, 71
 Brock, M. L. 381
 Brokaw, Mrs. John. 202
 Bross, William. 127
 Brotherton, William. 355
 Brown, Ethan Allen. 359
 Brown, J. H. 383
 Brown, John. 134, 339
 Brown County, Ill. 176
 Brown's Hall (Rockford, Ill.) 193
 Browner, Michael F. 48
 Browning, Orville Hickman
 232n., 270, 368, 398
 Bryan, Mrs. Harry. 96
 Bryant, Cullen. 344, 346
 Bryant, Grace. 308
 Bryant, William Cullen. 344
 Buchanan, James. 11
 Buchanan, Robert. 149
 Buchholtz, ———. 137
 Buck, ———. 137
 Buckhart, Ill. 34
 Buckingham, Clyde E.
 article by. 236-59
 mentioned. 96, 314
 Bucknell University. 197
 Buell, Don Carlos. 340
 Buffalo Grove, Ill. 256
 Bugbee, L. H. 124
 Buis, A. R. 311
 Bunce, James. 220n.
 Bunker, J. C. 310
 Buntain, Mrs. Clay. 201
 Bureau County, Ill. 231, 288
 Bureau County Historical Society . .
 90, 198, 290, 308, 412
 Burford, C. C. 416
 Burlingham, Mrs. C. L. 314
Burlington West: A Colonization History of the Burlington Railroad . . . 88
 Burnham, Alfred. 314
 Burnham, Mrs. Alfred. 314
 Burnside, Ambrose E. 340

- Burroughs, Edward W. 96
 Burton, Mrs. Anna 96
 Burton, Frank 308
 Bush, Edward Geer 342, 346
 Butler Brothers (Chicago) 53
 Byrne, Michael 364n.
 Byrns, Margaret 383
 Byron, George Gordon, sixth lord
 144, 359
 Byron, Ill. 257

 Cabins, pioneer 240-41, 247, 253
 Cahokia, Ill. 69, 70
 Cahokia Historical Society 90-91, 308
 Cahokia Indians 57, 58
 Cahokia Mounds 91
 Cairo Public Library 38
 Caldwell, Norman W. 85
 Caledonia Hall (Galesburg, Ill.) 191
 Calhoun, James K. 93
 Camp, J. Beidler 199
 Camp Fire Girls 97
 Camp Forrest 37, 51
 Camp Grant 27
 Campbell, George W. 356, 357
 Campbell, Mrs. George W. 356
 Campbell, Hugh 361, 362, 366
 "Campbellites" 250, 254, 258
 Canada 60
 Cannon, John 46
 Cape Girardeau, Mo.
 157, 165, 166, 167n.
 Capen, Mrs. Henry 202
 Carbondale, Ill. 44
 Carl, Emperor (Austria-Hungary) 143
 Carlin, Robert 344, 345, 346
 Carlin, Thomas 366, 369
 Carlin, William Passmore
 biographical sketch 341
 mentioned 339
 Carman, George Noble 40
 Carpenter, Richard V. 90, 308, 412
 Carrington, Henry B. 408
 Carroll County, Ill. 176
 Carter, C. C.
 letter from 294-95
 mentioned 414
 Carter, Charles M. 199
 Carter, J. W. 415
Carthage Republican 52
 Cartoe, J. 137
 Cartwright, Peter
 quoted 242-43, 252
 mentioned 250, 257
 Caruso, Enrico 140
 Cash Creek 151, 152, 158, 163n.
 Cass County, Ill. 174n., 177
 Cassidy, E. T. 98
 Castleman, W. L. 203
 Catholics 280
 Century Club (Indianola, Ill.) 98, 204
 Chalfin, Samuel Fletcher
 338, 339, 340, 344
 Chambers, George M. 369
 Chambers, Matthew
 anti-slavery leader 219, 220, 231n.
 grocer 218n.
 Liberty Party candidate 229, 230
 Champaign County, Ill. 174n., 176, 183
 Chandler, Carl Beane 393-96
 Chandler, Charles 295, 393-96
 Chandler, Mrs. Charles 394
 Chandler, Josephine Craven 395
 Chandler, Zachariah 85
 Chandlerville, Ill. 393-96
 Chanute Field 23
 Chapman, ——— 359
 Chapman, T. S. 413
 Chappel, Leonard 231n.
 Chartrand, L. 137
 Chase, Philander 251
 Chase, Salmon P. 264
 Chebanse, Ill. 291
 Cheney, Prentiss D. 413
 Chicago, Ill.
 airport 40, 54
 anti-slavery sentiment 223
 city employees strike 21
 Germans bossed by Hesing
 260-62, 265, 267-73, 277-87
 International Livestock Exposi-
 tion 53

- "lager beer riot" 268
 school tax 25
 soybean price 46
 wind storm 36
 mentioned 225, 248, 291
 Chicago, University of 49
 Chicago City Railway Co. 22
 Chicago Cubs 36
Chicago Daily News
 quoted 328
 Chicago Historical Society 34
 Chicago & Illinois Midland Rail-
 road 37
 Chicago, Springfield & St. Louis
 Railroad 37
Chicago Sun 410
 Chicago Surface Lines 22
Chicago Tribune 333
 Chicago, Wilmington and Franklin
 Coal Co. 45
 Chickasaw Indians 67, 70, 71, 72
 Christ, Mrs. O. H. 414
 Christian County, Ill. 177
 Church of the Brethren 86-87
 Cincinnati, Ohio 265, 267, 268, 274
 Civil War
 West Point graduates from Ill. in
 338-46
 Civilian Conservation Corps 35
Clarence Darrow for the Defense (book). 83
 Clark, Dwight F.
 article by 115-32
 mentioned 205, 411
 Clark, George Rogers 70, 71, 72
 Clark, Jane (Mrs. John A.) 367
 Clark, John A. (minister)
 quoted 77-78
 Clark, John A. (surveyor) 367
 Clark, Luella 124
 Clark, William 169n.
 Clark County, Ill. 176
 Clark Institution (Northampton,
 Mass.) 380
 Clay, Henry 281, 359
 Clay, Porter 369
 Clay County, Ill. 38
 Cleary, Edward P. 383
 Cleary, Minnie Wait
 article by 368-89
 mentioned 417
 Clements Library, William L. (Ann
 Arbor, Mich.) 404
 Cleon the Tanner 261
 Clerc, Laurent 379
 Cleveland, Grover 321
 Cleveland, S. E. 199
 Clinnin, John V. 30
 Cloud, Daniel T. 387, 411
 Cloud, J. H. 378, 387
 Cloud, Newton 369, 374
 Clouet, Alexandre de 59
 Coal mining
 in Illinois 32, 35, 49, 51, 55, 194-95
 in United States 195
 Colby, June Rose 36
 Cole, Thomas 369
 Colleges
 history teaching in 213-15, 323-37
 See also names of specific colleges
Collier's 333, 334
 Collins, Frederick 229
 Collins, Phillip W. 27
 Collyer, Robert 267, 268
 Colombia 74, 75
 Colombia, Academy of History of . . 74
 Colp, Estelle P. 98
 Colton, C. S. 88
 Colwell, John V. 417
Coming of the Civil War, The (book)
 406-407
 Commercial State Bank (Waterloo,
 Ill.) 55
 Comstock, Alice 129
 Concord (Natchez Country) 67, 70
 Confederate Army 341, 346
 Congregational Church
 first woman minister 288-94
 mentioned 252
 Congress 31, 37, 47
 Congress of Industrial Organizations
 Amalgamated Association of Steel
 Iron and Tin Workers 26

- Farm Equipment Workers' Organizing Committee.....23, 25, 28, 31, 34
- Conklin, Roscoe.....345
- Conkling, Wallace Edmonds.....27
- Continental Can Co.....33
- Continental Ill. Bank Bldg. (Chicago).....303
- Conway, Barrett.....314
- Conwell, Amelia J.....128
- Cook County, Ill.
 foreigners in.....136
 judicial elections.....50
 Hesing in.....262, 271, 278-85
 Liberty Party in.....232
- Cooke, J. J.....45
- "Copperheads".....279, 407, 408
- Corban, Norman.....94
- Cortázar, Roberta
 quoted.....74-76
- Cowles, Alfred.....127
- Cox, ———.....137
- Crane Co. (Chicago).....35
- Craven, Avery O.....406, 407, 411
- Creamer, ———.....352
- Crocker, Herbert C.....96
- Crockett, David.....402
- Cross, Hugh.....22, 39
- Cross, John.....231, 232
- Cross, Roland R.....47
- Crotty, Marie.....99
- Crow, Albion T.....356, 364n.
- Crow, Charles.....357
- Crowell, W. D.....191
- Crussius, Paul N.....92
- Cudahy, Edward A., Sr.....49
- Culp, Frank E.....96
- Culvey, Mrs. William.....412
- Cumberland County, Ill.....176
- Cumberland Island.....150
- Cumberland River.....150
- Cuneo Press, Inc. (Chicago).....23, 24
- Cunningham, Frank S.....53
- Currey, J. Seymour.....390
- Curtis, Harry.....90
- Curtis, Mrs. Henry.....93
- Curtis, Monroe.....201
- Custer, George A.....345
- Daits, Henry.....193
- Daits Hall (Rock Island, Ill.).....193
- Dale, Douglas E.....96
- Dallach, Mrs. A. C.....94
- Dammeier, Vernell C.....203
- Darrow, Clarence.....83
- Daughters of the Revolution.....97, 414
- Davenport, Eugene.....31
- Davidson, Mary.....54
- Davis, Alice.....98
- Davis, Edward.....27
- Davis, Edwin.....96, 203
- Davis, George P.....94
- Davis, Jefferson.....344, 347, 351
- Davis, Mary Brown.....222n., 224, 225
- Davis, Samuel.....222
- Davis, Southwick.....222n.
- Dawes, Charles G.....200, 309
- Dawes, Mrs. Charles G.....200
- Daylight saving (1841).....78
- Deaf, education of the
 See Ill. School for the Deaf
- Dean, Jerome ("Dizzy").....36
- Dean, Nelva.....198
- Debs, Eugene.....83
- Decatur, Ill.....302
- Deere, John.....301
- Deets, Lawrence E.....308
- Deists.....254
- Delaware Indians.....67
- Democracy's College: The Land-Grant Movement in the Formative Stage* (book).....305
- Democratic Party
 Douglas candidate of.....262, 282, 285
 and Germans.....11, 134, 265, 266, 270, 275-77, 280, 283, 284, 285
 Ill. convention (1837).....360
 and Irish.....136, 271, 280
 and Know-Nothings.....275, 277, 278
 and South.....138
 mentioned.....229, 231, 364
- Dempster, John.....117

- Dent, Thomas Ward.....395
Derr, Mrs. Verna.....415
Desert Saints (book).....303
Des Plaines Historical Society.....
.....91-92, 199
Detroit-Kaskaskia Indian Trail.....416
Deuel, Thorne.....89
Deuss, Edmund.....261
De Vry, Herman A.....30
DeWitt County, Ill.....176
De Wolf, Blanche.....308
Diaries of Donald Macdonald, The...306
Dickens, Charles.....98, 181
Dickens, Jefferson.....98
Dickinson, Mrs. Frederick.....314
Dickinson Hall (Waukegan, Ill.)...193
Dickson Cemetery (Rock Island,
Ill.).....415
Diesner, Mildred E.....203
Dilliard, Irving.....416
Disciples of Christ.....250, 254, 258
Diversnon, Ill.....34
Divine, Mrs. Ella F.....413
Dix, Dorothea Lynde.....411
Dixon, George C.....202
Dixon, John.....239
Dixon, Ill.....247, 248, 251
Dixon's Ferry.....251
Doane, Thomas.....203
Doctoroff, John.....52
Dodd, William E.....263
Dodge, Augustus C.....352
Dodge, Henry.....350, 351, 352, 359
Dole, Charles S.....268
Dorr, Mrs. Otto.....414
Dorsey, Florence L.....88
Doty, Elisha.....238
Doty, Simon P.....412
Douai, Adolph.....274
Douglas, Stephen A.
candidate for president.....262, 285
candidate for Senate.....282
debates with Lincoln.....216, 235
and Know-Nothings...263, 275, 276
mentioned.....135, 203, 284
Douglas County, Ill.....176
Dove, Franklin R.....27
Draper, W.....314
Drury, John.....91, 199
Du Coigne, Jean-Batiste
aids Clark.....70, 71, 72
Kaskaskia leader.....61
and Spanish.....63, 64, 66, 68-69
mentioned.....58, 67, 296
Duden, Gottfried.....17
Dudley, Frank.....199
Dudley, Thomas H.....276n.
Dukes, Edgar L.....92, 200, 414
Dumond, Dwight L.....195
Duncan, Joseph.....353, 369, 376
Duncan, N. V.....29
Duncan, Walter.....29
Dunkards.....86, 254
Dunlap, Thomas H.....372
Dunlop, Mrs. W. L.....94
Dunn, Charles.....359
Dunn, R. C.....231n.
Dunn, Thomas.....191
Dunn's Hall (Moline, Ill.).....191
DuPage County, Ill.....232
Durant, Henry.....116
Durkin, Martin P.....47
Durley, William.....348
Dutch, Mary.....381
Dwyer, Theresa.....91
Eade, A.....364n.
Ealund, Marguerite N.....203
Eames, Emma.....140, 142
Eames, George.....349
Earle, Thomas.....226, 227
East, Ernest E.....411
East Moline, Ill.....23, 24
Eaton, Henry B.....96
Eavenson, Howard N.....195
Eckert, ——.....137
Eddy, Meda.....291
Eden, Lavinia.....381
Edgar County Historical Society...92
Edlen, Robert.....415
Edmison, Frank S.....99

- Education
 of deaf
 See Ill. School for the Deaf
 history, study of.....213-15, 323-37
 for women
 See Evanston College for Ladies
 and Northwestern Female Col-
 lege
 Educational Association (Evanston,
 Ill.).....125, 128
 Edwards, Albert Gallatin.....
 338-39, 340, 344, 346
 Edwards, Cyrus.....365
 Edwards, Ninian.....340
 Edwards, Ninian Wirt.....340
 Edwards County, Ill.....306
 Edwards County Historical Society
 92, 200, 309, 413
 Effingham County, Ill.....176
 Eichenauer, Charles F.....97, 313
 Eisenschiml, Otto...199, 309, 409, 410
 Eisenstein, Dolores.....91
 Eliot, Charles William.....330
 Elizabeth, Queen (Belgium).....143
 Elkhart, Ill.....47
 Elkhorn Grove, Ill.....256
 Elkhville, Ill.....44
 Elliot, Earl F.....98
 Elliott, Maud Howe.....142
 Ellis, E. W.....96
 Elmhurst, Ill.....92
 Elmhurst College.....92
 Elphick, Mrs. Ann.....201
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo.....374
 Emery, Mrs. J. W.....312, 313
 Emmerson, Louis L.....26, 92, 200
 Emmons, L. E.....313
 Engelmann, Adolphus.....19-20
 Engelmann, Friedrich...10, 12, 13, 20
 Engelmann, Theodore.....20
 Englewood Historical Association
 (Chicago).....91, 308-309
 Englewood Junior Historical Asso-
 ciation (Chicago).....91
 English, Mrs. Henry W.....95
 English Settlement (Edwards Coun-
 ty, Ill.).....306
 Enos, W. C.....360
 Ensign, Preston.....95
 Eppens, William.....199
 Ericsson, Henry.....303, 304
 Erie Canal.....244
 Ernst, Rudolph F.....338, 339
 Erwin, Milo
 quoted.....79-80
 Ettinger, Manford.....92
 Evans, James.....359
 Evans, John.....121
 Evans, Myrtis.....312
 Evanston, Ill.....309, 390-92
 Evanston College for Ladies
 absorbs Northwestern Female Col-
 lege.....125, 127-32
 women's department, North-west-
 ern University.....125, 127-32
 See also Northwestern Female Col-
 lege
 Evanston Historical Society
 folder issued by.....309
 headquarters.....200-201
 mentioned.....93, 123, 390, 392
 Everitt, George Bain.....44
 Eversole, Mildred
 article by.....21-56
 mentioned.....99
 Eyre, William H.....97
 Fagley, Frederick L.....288, 293
 Fairbanks Morse & Co. (Chicago)...46
 "Family Compact".....58, 65
 Farmington, Ill.....217, 221, 234
 Farnham, Eli.....229, 231n., 233
 Farnham, Eliza W.
 quoted.....241-42, 248-50, 251
 Farnsworth, Terrah B.....364n.
 Farr, Grace.....378
 Farrar, Geraldine.....140
 Faye, Stanley
 article by.....57-72
 mentioned.....99
 Fayette County, Ill...38, 51, 174n., 176
 Federal Archives Project, Survey of.175

- Federal Writers' Project 92
 Fedorko, Thomas 91
 Fenoglio, T. A. 308
 Ferguson, Lizzie 383
 Ferris, Sylvanus 233
 Feuermann, Emanuel 146
 Field, A. D. 258
 Field, Abner 348
 Field, Pearl I. 199, 309
 Fine, Benjamin. 323, 324, 325, 328, 331
*First Century and a Quarter of American
 Coal Industry, The* (book) 195
 Fischer, A. 272
 Fisher, ——— 137
 Flagg, Norman G. 96
 Flanagan, John T. 84
 Fleming, George 199
 Flint, Margaret A. 410
 Flores, José S. 75
 Folsom, Mrs. Minnie 203
 Foote, ——— 357
 Foote, Horatio 220, 227
 Ford, Thomas 241, 357
 Forquer, George 358
 Forsythe, John 397, 398
 Fort Bute 63, 64, 65, 71
 Fort Carlos III. 61, 62, 63, 66, 70, 71
 Fort Chartres 57, 60
 Fort Jefferson 71
 Fort Massac 151
 Fort Monroe 243
 Fort Pitt 66, 70, 72
 Fort San Gabriel 63
Forum, The
 quoted 298-99
 Foster, Mrs. A. L. 93
 Fowler, F. S. 308, 412
 Fox, Dixon Ryan 112
 Fox Indians 57, 60, 240, 296, 415
 France 65, 85
 Francis, Mrs. Earl 201
 Franklin, Walter D. 313
 Franklin County, Ill. 38, 176
 Free Soil Party 234
 Freeman, Mrs. L. J. 202
 Fremont, John Charles 276, 278n.
- French
 on Arkansas River 59
 in Illinois Country 58
 in Louisiana 60
 on Mississippi River 57
 mentioned 63, 64, 66, 72
*French in the Mississippi Valley, 1740-
 1750, The* (book) 85
 Friedheim, Arthur 142
 Frisby, Roy M. 94
 Frobel, A. H. 192
 Fry, Emily Turney 340
 Fry, Jacob 340
 Fry, James Barnet
 biographical sketch
 339, 340-41, 344-45
 Fry's Hall (Freeport, Ill.) 190
 Fulkerson, Joseph R. 413
 Fuller, Margaret 236, 259
 Fulton, Ill. 253
 Fulton County, Ill. 221
 Funk, Witmer 92
- Gale, George Washington
 anti-slavery leader
 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 231
 mentioned 232n., 233
 Galena, Ill.
 Ill. State Hist. Soc. meets at
 113-14, 197, 202, 412
 lead discovered at 237-38
 Stephenson at 347-66
 mentioned 239, 247, 250
 Galena Historical and Museum As-
 sociation 310
 Galena Hotel (Galena, Ill.) 348
 Galesburg, Ill.
 and anti-slavery movement
 early activities 216-24
 female society 224-25
 Liberty Party 226-35
 Gallaudet, Thomas Hopkins 379
 Gallaudet College (Washington,
 D. C.) 378, 380, 383, 387
 Gallaudet Normal School (Wash-
 ington, D. C.) 380

- Galpin, Homer K. 43
 Gálvez, Don Bernardo de . . . 68, 69, 71
 Gamber, I. L. 310
 Garden Club of Illinois 48
 Garrett, Mrs. Eliza 124
 Garrett Biblical Institute . 117, 118, 124
 Garrison, Maxine 202-203
 Gear, Hezekiah H. 364n.
 Genesee turnpike 245
 Geneseo, Ill. 33, 52
 George, D. W. 381
 George III. 280
 Gergen, C. F. 91, 308
 Germans
 in Belleville, Ill. 7-20
 in Democratic Party
 11, 138, 263-66, 270, 275
 and Hesing
 260-62, 265, 267, 270-71, 279-87
 and Know-Nothings . 133, 263-80, 287
 and Lincoln . . 11, 133-39, 269, 271-73
 "Miami Tribe" 267
 and Nativists 268
 in Republican Party 11,
 14, 18, 133-39, 260, 263-65, 273-87
 and temperance 263-64
 Germany 321-22, 326
 Gerould, Mrs. Frank A. 94
 Gibbs, Josephine C. 129
 Gibson, George 65
 Gibson Canning Co. (Gibson City,
 Ill.) 21
 Gilbert, C. W. 220n.
 Gilham, William 369
 Gill, Thomas E. 98
 Gillett, Alma 381
 Gillett, Charles P. 385
 Gillett, Jane V. 381
 Gillett, Philip G.
 son of 385
 superintendent, Ill. School for
 Deaf 374-77, 380, 381, 382
 Gimmel, George 254, 255, 257
 Gledhill, Mrs. H. R. 413
 Glencoe Historical Society . 93, 201, 310
Glossary of Mississippi Valley French,
 1673-1850, A 195
 Gloyd, Howard 89
 Goe, Mrs. Frances G. 202
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von . . 141
Golden Eagle (ship) 39
 Golightly, T. H. 199, 309
 Goltra, C. 370
 Goltra, M. 370
 Goltra, Mabel 414
 Goodson, Orr 89
 Goodwin, William L. 201
 Gordon, Anna 289, 290
 Gordon, George 309
 Gordon, J. C. 383, 384, 385
 Gordon, John 291
 Gordon, William 355
 Goss, Mrs. Netta B. 199
 Gould, Nathan 254
 Grabow, R. J. 309
 Grafton, Ill. 34
 Graham, Estella 345
 Graham, Mentor 302
 Grand Detour, Ill.
 253, 254, 256, 257, 301
 Grand Prairie 69
 Grand Tower 168
 Grandcour, Sieur de 59, 60
 Grant, Grace 93
 Grant, Harlo 199
 Grant, Innes 231n., 232
 Grant, J. A. 93
 Grant, James 232n.
 Grant, Ulysses S. 261, 340, 341
 Granville, Ill. 225
 Grassly, Fanny 414
 Gratiot, Henry 359
 Graves, Mrs. Thad. 412
 Gray, Wood 407, 408
 Greeley, Horace 263
 Green, Dwight H.
 appointments by 27, 47
 bills signed by 22, 25, 32, 33,
 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 55
 budget proposed by 32
 inauguration as governor 22
 wartime activities 37, 54

- mentioned 28, 93, 174, 414
- Green, Leroy M. 29
- Green River 239
- Greene, William G. 302
- Greene County, Ill. 48
- Greenebaum, Henry 267, 284
- Greenleaf, Mrs. L. L. 132
- Greer, Robert 199
- Griffith, Mrs. Agnes 380
- Griffith, Katharine 87
- Griffith, Will 87
- Grimm, J. Henry 310
- Grose, Clyde Leclare 197
- Grosse Point Lighthouse (Evanston, Ill.) 200-201
- Grove, Margaret T. 90, 308
- Grow, G. A. 135
- Gubbins, Mrs. Edna 414
- Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the William L. Clements Library* 404
- Gunning, T. P. 311
- Gustavus Adolphus 213
- Haberkörn, Ruth Ewers
 article by 288-94
 mentioned 308
- Hackett, Horatio B. 46
- Haefliger, William 202
- Hainline, T. J. 384
- Hall, James 84, 244
- Hall, L. W. 398
- Hall, Thomas R.
 article by 174-79
 mentioned 89, 205
- Hallowell, Malachi 380
- Hamilton, Arthur 75
- Hamilton, William S. 351
- Hamilton Club (Chicago) 53
- Hamline, Leonidas L. 125
- Hamline, Mrs. Leonidas L. 125
- Hammond, H. C. 381
- Happy, William W. 369
- Harco, Ill. 55
- Hardin, Everett C. 52
- Hardin, John J. 342, 369
- Hardin, Martin D.
 biographical sketch 342, 345
 mentioned 339
- Harding, A. Austin 50
- Harkless, John 90
- Harkness, Mrs. Clay W. 197
- Harlan, James 135
- Harris, Margaret Carlock
 article by 180-83
- Harrison, Fred G. 98
- Harrison, George W. 357
- Hartman, ——— 137
- Hartmann, Joseph 284
- Hasbrouck, J. L. 95
- Hasenstab, Philip J. 375, 378
- Haskins, Mary F. 125, 129
- Hassaurek, Fritz 267
- Hasselquist, T. N. 89
- Hatfield, James Taft
 article by 390-92
 mentioned 93
- Hauberg, John H. 307, 308, 313, 411
- Hauberg, John H., Jr. 415
- Hauk, Minnie 146
- Haven, Erastus Otis 124, 128, 132
- Haven, Otis Erastus 124
- Hawgood, John A. 14, 17
- Hawks, Joe 308
- Hay, A. L. 382
- Hay, John 312
- Hayden, Marjorie 91
- Hayes, Lydia M. 122
- Hayne, Robert Young 214, 329
- Hazard, E. H. 255
- "Hazelwood" (estate) 259
- Headburg, Mrs. Albion 199
- Heath, William O. 94
- Heck, Mrs. C. G. 308
- Hecker, Friedrich 11, 13, 139
- Heckman, John 86
- Heer, Mrs. H. L. 310
- Heid, Leo T. 199
- Heinl, Frank J. 95, 411
- Hemenway, Francis D. 117
- Hempenius, Mrs. Nellie A. 413
- Hempstead, ——— 351
- Henderson, Ky. 150, 169n.

- Hendrickson, Walter B.
 article by.....331-37
 mentioned.....411, 417
- Henry, John.....369
- Henson, Mrs. Mark.....96
- Herbst, Mrs. L. B.....199
- Herndon, William H.....301
- Herr, Phil S.....45
- Herrick, Charles E.....99
- Hersh, Hazel.....199
- Hertz, B. F.....201
- Hertz, Gilbert.....201
- Herx, Harry W.....91
- Hesing, Anton Caspar
 in Cincinnati.....265-68
 and Know-Nothings.....
 267-68, 273, 279-80, 284, 287
 and Lincoln.....271-73
 moves to Chicago.....268
 newspaper publisher.....286-87
 and Republican Party.....
 260-62, 265, 267, 269, 270-71, 277
 sheriff, Cook County.....262, 278-85
 in Whig Party.....266-68
- Hessians.....280
- Heyworth, Ill.....33, 52
- Hibbard, Charles.....380
- Hibbard, Frederick C.....199
- Hibbard, Spencer and Bartlett Bldg.
 (Chicago).....303
- Hickling, William.....97
- Hickman, John.....135
- Hidden Civil War, The* (book).....407-408
- Highland Park, Ill.....121
- Hildner, Ernest G.....411
- Hilgard, Eugene.....19
- Hilgard, Julius.....19
- Hilgard, Theodor
 in Belleville.....11-18
 children.....19
 leaves Germany.....9-10
 returns to Germany.....19
 writes *Memoirs*.....15, 16
- Hilgard, William.....19
- Hill, A. P.....340
- Hinde, Thomas S.....81, 82
- Historic Nauvoo* (booklet).....87
- Historical societies
 in war time.....107-14
 See also names of specific societies
- History, study of.....213-15, 323-37
- Hoefler, Mrs. Perry.....97
- Hoeflin, Andrew R.....311
- Hoff, Signy.....199
- Hoffman, Charles Fenno
 quoted.....246-47
- Hoffman, Margaret.....95
- Hoge, Mrs. A. H.....128
- Holabird & Roche (Chicago).....21
- Holabird & Root (Chicago).....21
- Holgate, Thomas F.....93
- Hollister, Edward.....232n.
- Holton, Campbell.....95, 202, 311
- Holyoke, William.....
 219, 220n., 226, 229, 232
- Homer, Louise.....140
- Hood, John.....350
- Hook, Cornelius.....342, 343
- Hoose, Oscar G.....202
- Hoover, Mrs. Ina S.....308, 311
- Horine, ——.....352
- Horner, Henry
 memorial services.....28
 portrait.....39, 52
 statue appropriation.....42, 93
- Hough, Mrs. Susan.....203
- Howard, E. Belle.....381
- Howard, Mrs. Eva.....308
- Howard, Mary.....202
- Howard, S. P.....349
- Howe, Beverly W.....35
- Howe, Julia Ward.....142
- Howell, Mrs. Fred W.....413
- Howell, Mrs. Grace.....94
- Hoyne, Thomas Maclay.....47
- Hubbell, Jane P.....99
- Hudson, H. Gary
 article by.....323-31
 mentioned.....411, 417
- Huff, James.....90
- Huff, Rush.....201
- Huger, Frank.....342

- Hughes, Charles Evans330
- Hughes, Edward J.....22, 89, 93
- Humphrey, Jeanne.....201
- Hurd, Harvey B.....390
- Hutchins, Robert M.....108

- Icarians.....87
- Icc, Marinda.....181
- Illinois
 - Agriculture, Dep't. of.....22
 - airport laws.....43, 54
 - anti-slavery movement 216-35, 257-58
 - automobile accidents.....56
 - bartenders.....42
 - blind, pensions for.....22
 - children, dependent.....40
 - chronology for 1941.....21-56
 - cigarette tax.....38
 - civil service.....43
 - coal mines...32, 35, 49, 51, 55, 194-95
 - code departments, directors of...
 -22, 33, 36, 40, 47
 - Conservation, Dep't. of.....22
 - cornhusking contest.....50
 - cultural resources.....88-89
 - deaf, education for
 - See* Ill. School for the Deaf
 - Defense, Council of.....33, 54, 55
 - Democratic Party in.....
 -229, 270, 274-85, 360
 - diseases, occupational.....42
 - draftees' jobs.....42
 - educational laws.....25, 42, 43
 - election laws.....41, 42
 - Emergency Relief Commission...40
 - Executive Mansion.....38
 - Fair, State.....27, 45
 - farm crops.....56
 - Finance, Dep't. of.....22
 - fireworks, sale of.....41
 - gasoline consumption.....56
 - General Assembly
 - adjourns.....41
 - convenes.....21, 55
 - filibuster.....39
 - laws passed.....
 -22, 25, 32-43, 55, 368-69
 - portraits authorized.....31, 40, 52
 - salaries.....43
 - special session.....54, 55
 - statute authorized.....42, 93
 - See also* Illinois: House of Representatives and Illinois: Senate
 - Germans
 - in Belleville.....7-20
 - and Democratic Party...270, 277
 - in election of 1860.....133-39
 - and Republican Party...18, 133-39, 260, 265, 275, 277, 282, 283
 - Health, Dep't. of Public.....47
 - highway construction.....44
 - holidays in.....39, 42
 - homes, pioneer.....240-41, 247, 253
 - House of Representatives
 - members, deaths of.25, 29-30, 31, 34, 36, 40, 41, 45-46, 47-48, 52, 53-54, 55
 - See also* Illinois: General Assembly
 - Indians of northern.....87
 - Insurance, Dep't. of.....22
 - judges' retirement law.....43
 - juries, laws on.....39, 47
 - juvenile research, division of...42
 - Know-Nothing Party in.....
 -133, 268-73, 277-78
 - Labor, Dep't. of.....47
 - lead mining.....237-38
 - legislature
 - See* Illinois: General Assembly
 - Liberty Party in.....226-35
 - library tax.....43
 - liquor tax.....39
 - marriage license law.....34
 - militia, reserve.....28, 30, 32, 54, 55
 - milk regulation.....42
 - Mines and Minerals, Dep't. of...22
 - missionaries, early.....250-58
 - officials inaugurated.....22
 - oil (1941)
 - court ruling on.....45
 - new wells..22-23, 29, 37-38, 44, 45
 - number of wells.....38

- tax on 38, 43
- yield 45, 56
- old age assistance 22
- opera houses (1870) 189-93
- park district taxes 42
- parole laws 37
- population (1940) 37
- prairies (1842) 77-78
- prohibition vote (1855) 263n.
- Public Aid Commission 40
- Public Safety, Dep't. of 36, 40
- public s oo commission 42
- Public Welfare, Dep't. of 22, 33
- Public Works and Buildings,
Dep't. of 22
- purchasing agent 27
- racing law 38
- Registration and Education, Dep't.
of 22
- relief laws 22, 40, 42
- religion, pioneer 250-58
- Republican Party in
..... 134, 260-62, 265, 269-87
- school laws 25, 42, 43
- Senate
confirms appointments 27
- members, deaths of 43, 47, 53
- See also* Illinois: General As-
sembly
- settlers, early 238-46, 249
- State House (Vandalia) 78-79
- strikes (1941)
American Car and Foundry Co..
..... 25, 26
- Chicago, city employees 21
- coal miners 32, 35
- Cuneo Press 23, 24
- International Harvester Co.....
..... 23, 24-25, 28, 31, 33-34
- "suckers," residents called 237-38
- Supreme Court
chief justice 46
- decisions 33, 47, 52
- election to 27
- reporter 55
- tavern regulations 35, 42
- tax commission 27
- taxes
beer 39
- cigarette 38
- library 43
- liquor 39
- oil 38
- park district 42
- sales 33, 38
- teachers' re-employment 43
- temperance cause 255-57
- trails, early 238-39, 246-48
- training schools, boys' 43
- un-American parties 41
- unemployment compensation 40
- utilities, ruling on 33, 52, 53
- veterans' relief 42
- wartime measures 33, 54, 55
- weather (1941)
drought 32, 34, 44
- heat 43, 44, 45
- rain 32, 34, 47, 48, 51
- snow 23
- wind 36, 47
- West Point graduates in Civil War
..... 338-46
- workmen's compensation 42
- Illinois, University of
civil service system 43
- College of Medicine 41
- Cortázar describes 74-75
- football coach resigns 51-52
- history department head 89
- mentioned 31, 49, 304
- Illinois Anti-Slavery Society
annual meetings 217-21, 223, 226
- Illinois Central Railroad 46, 88
- Illinois Coal Producers Association. 51
- Illinois College 326
- Illinois Commerce Commission 31
- Illinois Country 58, 69, 85
- Illinois Female Anti-Slavery Society
..... 224, 225
- Illinois Historical Collections* 89
- Illinois Historical Records Survey
bibliography of publications.. 174-79

- mentioned194
- Illinois Historical Survey..... 89
- Illinois Indians
 - on lower Mississippi.....57-72
- Illinois Industrial Progress Commis-
sion..... 51
- Illinois Intelligencer*
 - quoted.....78-79
- Illinois Legislative Council..... 42
- Illinois Medical Journal*..... 32
- Illinois Monthly Magazine*
 - quoted.....297
- Illinois National Guard...28, 29, 37, 51
- Illinois River...57, 155, 244, 393, 394
- Illinois School for the Deaf
 - buildings...370, 376-78, 384, 387-88
 - curriculum.....378, 380, 382-85
 - daily routine.....372-73
 - founding.....368-71
 - Gillett superintends.....374-82
 - State Dep't. of Public Welfare
supervises.....386, 388
 - teachers.....
 - ...372, 375, 378, 380-85, 387, 388
- Illinois Staats Anzeiger* (newspaper).135
- Illinois State Historical Society
 - meets in Galena.113-14, 197, 202, 412
 - meets in Jacksonville...323n., 410-11
 - mentioned.....89, 196, 294, 295
- Illinois Traction Railroad..... 37
- Illinois Wesleyan University.....26-27
- Illio polis, Ill..... 34
- In the Shadow of Lincoln's Death*
(book).....409
- India Company..... 60
- Indiana Historical Society.....306
- Indians..... 87
 - See also* names of specific tribes
- Indians of Northern Illinois* (pam-
phlet)..... 87
- Ingersoll, Robert J.....115
- Ingraham, S. G.....201
- Inland Steel Co..... 41
- International Brotherhood of Book
Binders.....23, 24
- International Harvester Co.
 - chairman of board..... 48
 - Chicago plants....24-25, 28, 31, 33
 - director..... 30
 - East Moline plant.....23, 24
 - Rock Falls plant..... 23
- International Livestock Exposition
(Chicago)..... 53
- Inventory of the Church Archives of Illi-
nois, Springfield Presbytery*.....194
- Investors' Syndicate of America, Inc. 52
- Irish.....136, 271, 280
- Iroquois Indians.....57, 393
- Irvin, David.....359
- Irwin, Samuel P..... 55
- J. W. Stephenson* (boat).....363
- Jackson, Andrew.....355, 363
- Jackson County, Ill..... 38, 176
- Jacksonville, Ill.
 - Ill. School for Deaf at.....368-89
 - Ill. State Hist. Society meets in...
.....323n., 410-11
 - rainfall, record..... 48
 - mentioned.....203, 223
- Jacksonville & Havana Railroad... 37
- Jacobs, ———.....137
- James, Huntington.....201
- James, James A.....201, 411
- James Hall, Literary Pioneer of the Ohio
Valley*..... 84
- Japan..... 54
 - See also* World War II
- Jefferson, Thomas.....363, 364
- Jeffrey, Ethel.....310
- Jeffrey, John.....310
- Jenkins, Mrs. Gertrude I.....199
- Jenkins, Louis H.....381
- Jersey County, Ill.....174n., 177
- Jersey County Historical Society...413
- Jerseyville, Ill..... 44
- Jo Daviess County, Ill.....176
- John S. Wright, Prophet of the Prairies*
(book).....83-84
- Johnson, Andrew.....368, 409
- Johnson, George.....311
- Johnson, Solomon..... 86

- Johnson, William..... 86
 Johnston, Effie383
 Joliet, Ill..... 54
 Jolliet, Louis.....195
 Jones, ——.....356
 Jones, A. D.
 quoted.....298
 Jones, Charles.....116, 121
 Jones, Donald.....314
 Jones, G. W.....359
 Jones, George Herbert..... 41
 Jones, J. Wesley
 and Evanston College for Ladies..128
 and Northwestern Female College
 first building.....115-18
 newspaper support.....125-27
 second building.....121-22
 mentioned.....119, 120, 124
 Jones, John Rice.....296
 Jones, Joseph.....116, 121
 Jones, Norman L..... 28
 Jones, Paul..... 22
 Jones, W. F.....417
 Jones, William P.
 and Evanston College for Ladies..128
 marriage.....123
 and Northwestern Female College
 first building.....115-18
 newspaper support.....125-27
 second building.....121-22
 mentioned.....119, 124, 129
 Jones, Mrs. William P...123, 128, 129
 Jones, William P., Jr.....128
 Jordan, Helen R.....385
*Journal of the Illinois State Historical
 Society*.....333
 Joy, James F..... 88
 Judd, Norman B.....282
 Judson, Philo.....115, 121
 July, Fourth of.....187-88
 Juries.....39, 47
 Jüssen, Edmund
 biographical sketch.....321
 Kaeser, Mrs. Jennie L..... 96
 Kane, Elias K.....339, 358
 Kane, Elias K., Jr.....339
 Kane County, Ill.....232
 Kankakee County Historical Society
 201, 310
 Kapp, Frederick.....274
 Karl, Mrs. H. H.....417
 Karlin, Jules.....309
 Kaskaskia, Ill.....414
 Kaskaskia Indians
 chiefs.....58, 61, 63, 72
 on Mississippi River.....57, 58
 and Quapaws.61-62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68
 and Spanish.....61-64, 66, 67-71
 Kaskaskia River..... 51
 Kaskaskia State Park.....414
 Kaskaskias.....296
 Keckley, Elizabeth..... 86
 Keehn, Roy D..... 31
 Keeler, Fred..... 90
 Keithley, Enos..... 96
 Kellogg, Hiram H...221, 223, 229, 231
 Kellogg, Mrs. Hiram H.....224
 Kellogg, Louise Phelps.....306, 307
 Kellogg, O. W.....238
 Kellogg's Grove.....349
 Kellogg's Trail.238, 239, 246, 247, 248
 Kemper, Ill..... 34
 Kendall, John.....220n.
 Kenilworth Historical Society.... 94
 Kennedy, J. A.....381
 Kent, Eliza.....381
 Kenton, Simon..... 81
 Kern, Jacob J..... 25
 Kespohl, Julius.....313
 Kettlestrings, Kitty.....183
 Keys, Alvin S..... 40
 Kickapoo Indians.....393
 "Kickapoo Town".....393, 394
 Kidder, Daniel P.....117
 Kiler, Charles A.....304
 Kilpatrick, Judson.....344
 King, Mrs. Paul.....202
 King, S. Bowles.....314
 Kingsbury, Henry Walter....340, 344
 Kingsbury, Julius J. B.....344
 Kinney, Samuel.....338, 339

- Kinney, William 339, 354, 361
 Kinzie, Mrs. John H.
 quoted 239
 Kirkpatrick, M. E. 96
 Know-Nothing Party
 decline 274-75
 and Democratic Party 276-78
 and Lincoln 269-73
 and Republican Party
 263, 275, 276, 279, 280, 284
 and temperance movement 264
 mentioned 133, 268, 287
 Knox College . . . 217, 221, 224, 225, 233
 Knox County, Ill.
 anti-slavery leaders in 218, 220
 Liberty Party in . . . 227-30, 232-33, 234
 Underground Railroad in 231
 mentioned 176
 Knox County Anti-Slavery Society . 219
 Koch, Theodore Wesley 30
 Koerner, Gustav
 biographical sketch 10-11
 mentioned . . 12, 13, 16, 133, 139, 274
 Kounter, William R. 201
 Kreisler, Fritz 140
 Kriesmann, Hermann 269, 286
 Kyle, Betsy 356
 Kyle, Ellen 355
 See also Stephenson, Ellen
 Kyle, Mary 361
 Lafayette, Marquis de 10
 LaGrange Historical Society 94
 Lake Erie 245
 Lake Huron 244
 Lake Michigan 244
 Lake Moses 44
 Lake Thompson 44
 Lamieux, L. 137
 Lampert, Mrs. Warren 412
 Land-grant colleges 304, 305
 Landis, Reed G. 94
 Langdon, James J. 192
 Langford, J. P. 370
 Laning, Harris 25
 Lanphier, Mrs. Beatrice Howell . . . 202
 Lanquist and Ericsson (Chicago) . . . 303
 Lansden, Effie A. 38
 La Ribourde, Father Gabriel de
 415, 416
 La Sallier, Pierre 96
 Latin-Americans 74-76
 "Latin Peasants" or "Latin Farmers"
 in Belleville, Ill. 7-20, 139
 Latrobe, Charles
 quoted 240-41
 Latter Day Saints
 See Mormons
 Laughlin, Charles H. 381
 Laughlin, Clara 29
 Laurel Hill Cemetery (San Francisco) 73
 Lawndale-Crawford Historical Association (Chicago) 413
 Lawrence, Elizabeth 381
 Lawrence, Kan. 216
 Layman, Thomas J. 204, 313
 Lead mining (Galena, Ill.) 237-38
 LeBron, Jeanne
 article by 347-67
 mentioned 417
 LeBron, Marie 310
 Lee, G. W. C. 341
 Lee, Robert E. 339
 Lee, Stephen D. 341
 Lee County Historical Society
 95-96, 202
 Lee, Higginson Corp. (Chicago) . . . 46
 Leef, John 96
 Legate, Thomas C. 358
 Leib, Charles 283
 Lennon, J. B. 96, 202
 Lentz, E. G. 313
 Leonard, F. 231n.
 Leonard, Howard 22
 Leopold, Nathan, Jr. 83
 Levinson, Salmon O. 25
 Lewis, James Hamilton 31
 Lewis, Lloyd 83, 93
 Lewis, Meriwether 169n.
 Lewis Institute (Chicago) 40

- Liberty Party
 in Illinois.....226-35
 Lidice, Czechoslovakia.....414
 Lidice, Ill.....414
 Lieber, Francis.....135
 Lincoln, Abraham
 birthday.....26, 39
 books on.....85-86, 405-406, 409
 candidate for president.....262, 285
 debates.....216, 235
 in Evanston.....390-92
 and Germans.....
 133-39, 276, 277, 278, 285-86
 and Hesing.....271-73, 282, 285-86
 and James Smith.....397-99
 and Know-Nothings.....
 269-70, 271-73, 279
 numismatic items on.....196
 philatelic items on.....196
 statue by O'Connor.....39
 tomb.....75-76
 mentioned.....11, 73, 74, 98, 143,
 203, 204, 295, 302, 305, 312, 347
 Lincoln, Mrs. Abraham.....86, 340, 397-98
 Lincoln, Edward.....397
 Lincoln, Isaac.....409
 Lincoln, John.....409
 Lincoln, Thomas.....86
 Lincoln Hall (Danville, Ill.).....189
Lincoln: His Life in Photographs
 (book).....86
Lincoln and His Party in the Secession
 Crisis (book).....405-406
 Lincoln Memorial University.....35
Lincoln and the Radicals (book).....85
Lincolns in Tennessee, The (book).....409
 Lindley, Walter C.....45
 Linn, William.....65, 66, 67
 List, Emanuel.....146
 Liszt, Franz.....141, 144, 146
 Little, Homer N.....308
 Little, Mrs. Homer N.....308
Little Lower Than the Angels, A
 (book).....302, 303
 Little Prairie, Mo.....157
 Livingston County, Ill.....174n., 176
 Lockwood, Myna.....90
 Lockwood, Samuel D.....369
 Loeb, Richard.....83
 Logan, John A.....122
 Logan, R. E.....310
 Logan County, Ill.....176
 Lohr, Lenox R.....89
 London, Eng.....221, 222, 223
 Lone Mountain Cemetery (San
 Francisco).....73
 Long, Armistead L.....341
 Long, Mrs. Carro.....200
 Long, Mrs. E. B.....198
 Long, John Osmond.....339, 341, 346
 Lueder, Arthur C.....22
 Lukens, W. C.....313
 Lunt, Stephen P.....131
 Luttrell, Cynthia.....381
 Lyman, O. F.....97
 Lyndon, Ill.....254
 Lynn, Lorraine.....199
 Lyon, Lucius.....353, 354
 Lyon, Mrs. M. H., Jr.....313, 415
 Lyons, Richard J.....27
 Lytle, Harry J.....98

 McAllister, Louise.....142
 McAllister, Ward.....142
 McBarnes, Mrs. John.....95
 McBroom, Vernon.....201
 McCarthy, Ray.....199
 McClelland, Clarence P.....411, 415
 McCormick, Cyrus Hall.....48, 277
 McCormick, Harold F.....48
 McCormick Harvesting Machine
 Co.....48
 McCoy, ———.....137
 McCrosky, James.....369
 McDermott, John Francis
 article edited by.....148-73
 mentioned.....195, 205
 McDonald, ———.....137
 Macdonald, Donald.....306
 McDonnell, William H.....91
 McDowell, Irvin.....340
 McEnery, John T.....199

- McEwan, Mrs. John B. 203
 McFarland, Mrs. Lizzie Mace 124
 McGuire, Catherine M. 91
 Mack, Mrs. Mary 313
 Mack, Mildred 314
 McKee, Mrs. Agnes 96
 McKee, Mrs. H. M. 308
 McKee, Lucille 417
 McKendree College 116, 117
 McKenzie, Clare 417
 McKenzie, John C. 47
 Mackenzie, William Lyon 301
 McKibben, George B. 22
 Mackin, Kathryn 201
 McKinstry, Addis E. 30
 McLean, Ill. 291
 McLean County Historical Society .
 94-95, 202, 310-11
 McLeansboro, Ill. 44
 McLoughlin, Amelia 345
 McMahill, Alma Wilson 199
 McMurdy, Robert 53
 MacMurray, James E. 35
 MacMurray College 35, 333
 McNamar, Bill 302
 McNamara, James B. 83
 McNamara, John J. 83
 MacNeil, Hermon A. 144
 Macon County Historical Society .
 96, 203, 415
 Macoupin County, Ill. 176
 Macy, Frayda 95
 Maddux, Mrs. Doris 310
 Madison, Dolly 182
 Madison County Historical Society . 96
 Magruder, J. B. 342
 Mahoney, Emmy Lou 416
 Mahoney, Mrs. Mary 416
 Manhattan Building (Chicago) . . . 303
 Mann, Oliver D. 204, 416
 Manteno [Ill.] State Hospital 33
 Marchal, J. 137
 Marean, Fred 90, 412
 Marie, Queen (Rumania) 143
 Marks, Sara 98
 Marovitz, A. L. 93
 Marquette, Jacques 195
 Marquis, Chester 202
 Marsh, G. A. 231n.
 Marsh, Hiram 220, 226
 Marshall, Helen 313, 415
 Marshall Field & Co. (Chicago) . . . 46
 Martin, Lorene
 articles by 140-47, 393-96
 mentioned 205
 Martin, Mary L. 381
 Martineau, Harriet
 quoted 400-403
 Mascoutens Indians 393
 Mason, Bertha 95
 Mason, William 199
 Massachusetts 273, 274
Master of the Mississippi (book) . . . 88
 Masters, Squire 302
 Matheny, Willard R. 411
 Mather, Alonzo Clark 24, 26
 Mathews, Jimmy 67
 Mathews, Shailer 49
 Maticka, Barney B. 97
 Matlack, Mrs. William H. 308
 Matson, Enos M. 311
 Matson, Leslie 311
 Mattison, Eva 128
 May, William L. 358
Mayflower (ship) 327
 Maywood Historical Society . . 203, 311
 Mechanicsburg, Ill. 34
 Medill, Joseph 127, 261, 279, 282
 Medill, Robert 22
 Meehan, Thomas 53
 Meikamp, Geraldine 96
 Melba, Nellie 140, 142
 Melberg, Mrs. Marie 413
 Melby, Harry 203
 Menard County, Ill. 176, 301
 Mercantile Hall (Alton, Ill.) 189
 Mercedes, Joseph 91
 Merchandise National Bank (Chi-
 cago) 44
 Merritt, Wesley 342
 Merwin, O. H. 128
 Metcalfe, Roberta 199

- Methodist Church
 book on 305
 circuit riders 250, 251, 254, 258
 mentioned 117
 Methodist Mission to the Deaf (Chicago) 375
Methodist Movement in Northern Illinois (book) 305
 Mexican War 338, 339, 342
 Meyer, Mrs. Harry 96
 Miami Indians 70, 71, 393
 Michigamea Indians 58, 62, 66
 Michigan State College 334
 Milburn, William H.
 quoted 184-86
 Miles, Mrs. C. L. 308
 Militia, Illinois Reserve
 28, 30, 32, 54, 55
 Miller, ——— 137
 Miller, J. C. 199
 Miller, J. E. 86
 Miller, L. W. 202
 Miller, Mrs. Marshall D. 199
 Miller, Sumner 99
 Milligan, H. W. 381
 Milton, George Fort 408
 Miner, Bertha 414
 Mining, lead (Galena, Ill.) 237-38
 Minor, Lynn O. 201
 Missionaries
 early Illinois 250-58
 Mississippi River
 Audubon's journey on 148-73
 early navigation 87-88
 flood stage 50
 Illinois Indians on 57-72
 lead mining on 237
 Mississippi Valley 81-82, 85
 Missouri 58
 Missouri Pacific Railroad 46
 Mitchell, James 367
 Miter, John J. 218, 219, 220
 Mohawk Trail 245
 Molohon, H. A. 388
 Monaghan, Jay
 article by 133-39
 mentioned 204, 205
 Monmouth, Ill. 219
 Monon Building (Chicago) 303
 Montgomery, E. B. 313
 Montgomery County, Ill. 174n., 176
 Montgomery Ward & Co. (Chicago) 44
 Monticello Seminary 118
 Moreland, Harriet 291
 Moreland, James William 292
 Moreland, Mary L.
 ordained minister 288-94
 Morgan, Helen 48
 Morgan County, Ill. 177
 Morgan County Historical Society
 95, 203, 414, 417
 Morini, Erika 146
 Mormons 87, 254, 302-303
 Morrell, Mrs. Harriet 292
 Morrill, Justin Smith 304, 305
 Morris, Benjamin F. 369
 Morrison, Don 283
 Morrison, William 352
 Morse, Anna 381, 382, 385
 Morse, Samuel F. B. 301
 Morton Salt Co. 30
 Moseley, Fannie 412
 Moss, Roy E. 308
 Moultrie County, Ill. 174n., 177
 Mound City, Ill. 48
 Mt. Carmel, Ill. 22, 23, 81, 306
 Mt. Holyoke Seminary 116
 Mt. Rushmore Memorial 29
 Muddy River 170
 Muelder, Hermann R.
 article by 216-35
 mentioned 201, 314
 Mullen, Marcus 199
 Mun, Auguste de 151n., 153n.
 Mun, Jacques de 151n.
 Mun, Jules de 151n., 153n.
 Munger, Edmund 145
 Murdoch, James, & Co 191
 Murphy, Francis B. 47
 Murphy, Loren E. 46
 Musick, James B. 195
 Myers, Colostin D. 202, 310

- Myers, Mrs. Colostin D. 202
- Nack, Louis A. 310
- Naperville, Ill. 247
- Natchez. 60, 66, 67, 71
- National Cemetery (San Francisco). 73
- National Resources Planning Board
 88-89
- Nativists. 264, 268, 269, 275, 279
- Nauvoo, Ill. 87, 302, 303
- Neely, A. 231n.
- Negroes. 86
- Nelson, Esther. 413
- Ness, George T., Jr.
 article by. 338-46
 mentioned. 417
- Nevins, Allan. 331, 332
- New Harmony, Ind. 306
- New Orleans, La.
 French governor. 58
 Spanish governor. 63, 65, 68
 mentioned. 64, 66, 69, 72
- New Salem State Park. 74, 75
- New York Stock Exchange. 36
- New York Times*
 surveys teaching of history. . . 323-37
- Newland, H. 246
- Nicolay, John G. 312
- Nightingale, A. F. 124
- Nightingale, Mrs. A. F. 128
- Nolte, Charles B. 35
- Nordica, Lillian. 142
- Nordstrom, O. L. 90
- Normal, Ill. 291
- Norman, I. P. 190, 193
- Norris, Lester J. 50
- Northern Editorials on Secession*. . . 196
- Northwestern Female College
 attendance. 123-25
 buildings. 116-18, 120, 121-22
 charter. 122
 and Evanston College for Ladies.
 127-32
 fire. 118-19
 founding. 115-16
 newspaper support. 125-27
 and Northwestern University. . .
 119-22, 125, 126, 127-32
- Northwestern University
 and Evanston College for Women
 125, 127-32
 first building. 117, 120
 gifts to. 40-41
 Haven president of. 124
 and Northwestern Female College
 119-22
 scholarships. 121
 women's department. . . 125, 127-32
 mentioned. 115, 118, 126
- Norton, E. F. 308
- Norton, George. 94
- Novotna, Jarmila. 146
- Noyes, Sarah H. 381
- Noyes, William Albert. 49
- Nussbaum, Ben. 416
- Oak Park Historical Society. . 203, 311
- Oberholser, John. 198, 307
- Oberholser, Mrs. John. 198, 308
- Oberlin College. 116
- O'Connor, Andrew. 39
- Officer, Thomas H. 371, 373
- Ogee, Joseph. 239
- Ogle County, Ill. 177, 230
- Ohio River. 65, 70, 150, 152, 154
- Ohio Valley. 81-82
- Oil (Ill., 1941)
 court ruling on. 45
 new wells. 22-23, 29, 37-38, 44
 number of wells. 38
 tax. 43
 yield. 45, 56
- O'Keefe, Raymond T. 93
- Olden, Peter H.
 article by. 260-87
 mentioned. 314
- Oliver, William
 quoted. 187-88
- Olmsted, R. W. 204
- Olson, Albert O. 93, 310
- Olson, E. W. 90
- On the Banks of the Boneyard* (book). 304

- Opera houses (Ill., 1870).....189-93
 Orear, William.....369
 Oregon, Ill.....256
 Orendorff, Mrs. J. B.....94
 Orieta, Don Josef de
 commands on Arkansas 61, 62, 63, 64
 mentioned.....66, 67, 68
 Ormsby, Mrs. June Wallace.....413
 Osage Indians.....159, 160
 Osborne, Livingston E.....22
 Ott, Nell Chandler.....395
 Ottawa, Ill.....96, 97, 247
 Ottawa Memorial Association.....97
 Ottawa War Mothers.....97
 Overton, Richard C.....88
 Owen, Robert.....200, 306

 Page, George T.....50
 Page, John H.....99
 Page, Mrs. Joseph M.....413
 Paincourt (Ill. Country).....59
 Paine, R.....231n.
 Palatinate, The (Rhenish Bavaria).
 7, 14
 Palmer, Ivan A.....414
 Palmer, John M.....94
 Pancake, Christian.....181
 Pancake, Claudius.....181
 Pancake, Demaris.....180
 Pancake, John.....180
 Pancake, Kedurah.....181
 Pancake, Keturah.....181
 Pancake, Marvella.....180
 Pancake, Permillia.....181, 183
 Parker, Lucius H... 232, 233, 234, 235
 Parker, T. P.....258
 Parks, Nannie G.....98
 Parmely, O. C.....192
 Parmely Hall (Peoria, Ill.).....192
 Parr, Thomas.....297
 Parsons, Claude V.....37
 Patterson, Hettie.....385
 Pawnee, Ill.....34
 Pawnee Loup Indians.....70
 Pearson, John.....363
 Pearson, R. N.....253

 Pease, Theodore C.....89, 411
 Peck, John Mason.....244
 Peckham, Howard H.....404
 Peck, Mary.....380
 Pegram, John.....341
 Pennewell, Almer M.....305
 Penoyer, A. V.....231n.
 Peoria, Ill.....54, 184, 221, 222n., 247
 Peoria County, Ill.....177, 221, 231
 Peoria County Historical Society...
 97, 204, 311, 415
 Peoria Female Seminary.....115, 118
 Peoria Indians.....57, 61, 69, 70, 71
 Pere Marquette State Park.....35
 Perfectionists.....254
 Pericles.....329
 Perkins, Howard C.....196
 Peru, Ill.....184
 Peterkin, Daniel, Sr.....30
 Pettingil, Mrs. Moses.....224
 Philfeldt, Thomas G.....24
 Philip, William.....415
 Phillips, Cora E.....290n.
 Phillips, Isaac.....289
 Phillips, Mrs. Isaac.....290
 Phoenix Hall (Waukegan, Ill.)...193
 Piatt County, Ill.....177
 Pieplow, Silence.....182
 Pierce, Franklin.....11
 Pierson, Mrs. Paul I.....199
 Pigs.....299-300
 Pike, Charles Burrall.....34
 Pike County, Ill.....48, 177, 312
Pike County Ballads.....312
Pike County Republican.....312
 Pilgrims.....327
 Pinckney, Daniel J.....122
 Pittsfield, Ill.....312
 Pittsfield Building (Chicago).....303
 Plançon, Pol Henri.....142
 Plouer, Alice.....385
 Pollock, Mrs. B. C.....202
 Pons, Lily.....140
 Pope, John.....161n.
 Pope, Nathaniel.....358
 Pope, Mrs. Sperry.....93

- Porter, ———. 191
 Porter, Horace 342
 Post, Albert
 article by 397-99
 Potter, David M. 405, 406
 Powell, Janette C. 90
 Powers, Harry J. 27
Prairie Farmer, The 83, 84
 Prairies (Ill., 1842) 77-78
 Pratt, Harry E. 203, 411
 Prentice, Charles 358
 Presbyterian Church 175, 194, 252
 Presbyterian Church, First (Spring-
 field, Ill.) 397
 Presbyterian Hospital (Chicago) 41
 Presidio (San Francisco) 73
 Prince, Ezra M. 94
 Princeton, Ill. 220, 225, 226, 233, 247
 Princeton [Ill.], First State Bank of 87
 Prinless, John 255
 Prior, Abner 296
 Progressive Mine Workers of Amer-
 ica 32, 51
 Prosser, Samuel M. 369
 Protestants 280
 Pryor, Elinor 302
 Putnam County, Ill. 227
- Quapaw Indians
 on Arkansas River 58, 59
 and Illinois Indians 60
 and Kaskaskia Indians
 61-62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68
 Quigley, Jack 91
 Quigley, Mrs. Jack 91
 Quincy, Ill. 219, 227
 Quincy and Adams County, Histor-
 ical Society of 97, 312-13, 415
 Quincy Opera House (Quincy, Ill.) 192
- Raber, D. D. 95
 Race, Effie 385
 Rachmaninoff, Sergei 140
 Radigan, Mrs. Peter 308
 Raif, Oskar 141
 Ramseur, S. D. 342
- Randall, James G. 411
 Randolph, ———. 184
 Raney, M. Llewellyn 89
 Rasmussen, William 308
 Rasmussen, Mrs. William 308
 Raster, Hermann 275, 276, 277
 Ravenswood-Lake View Historical
 Association (Chicago) 198-99
 Rawlings, Helen 383
 Ray, C. H. 127, 269n.
 Ray, Mrs. Rowan 97
 Ray, Walter 308
 Raymond, James H. 128
 Read, Frank, Jr. 381
 Read, Frank, Sr. 381
 Reconstruction Finance Corporation 36
 Redfearn, Howard 310
 Reed, Jessie 198
 Reed, Lucius 246
 Reig, J. W. 386
- Religion
 pioneer Illinois 250-58
 See also names of church denomi-
 nations
- Reno, Marcus Albert
 biographical sketch 342, 345
 mentioned 339, 346
- Renwick, Edward A. 21
- Repressible Conflict, 1830-1861, The*
 (book) 406
- Republican Party
 first Ill. state convention 270
 and Germans 11, 14, 18,
 133-39, 260, 262, 263, 265, 270-87
 and Hesing
 boss of 260-62, 265, 270-71, 277
 candidate of 262, 278-85
 joins 267, 269
 and Know-Nothings 263-80, 284
 and Lincoln 133-39
 Massachusetts Amendments 273-74
 Ohio branch 267
 mentioned 235, 363
 Reszke, Edouard de 142
 Reszke, Jean de 142

- Retrospect of Western Travel*
 quoted.....400-403
 Reynolds, John
 quoted.....237
 mentioned.....358, 394
 Rich, Daniel C.....89
 Richland County, Ill.....38
 Richter, Victor W.....92
 Rickert, Joseph W.....55
 Ridgway, Mrs. Grant.....94
 Riggs, Mrs. Beatrice Morrell.....292
 Rigler, George H.....94
 Riley, Emma Jane.....87
 Robertson, W. S.....89
 Rochester, Ill.....34
 Rock Falls, Ill.....23
 Rock Island County, Ill.....177
 Rock Island County Historical So-
 ciety.....98, 204, 313, 415
 Rock River Seminary.....116
 Rock River Valley
 anti-slavery movement.....257-58
 homes, pioneer.....240-41, 247, 253
 religion, pioneer.....250-58
 settlers.....238-46, 249
 temperance cause.....255-57
 trails, early.....238-39, 246-48
 Rockford, Ill.....50, 252
Rockford Streamlined (book).....306
 Rockwell, Dennis.....369
 Roden, Carl B.....89
 Rodenberg, L. W.....414
 Rogers, Ella.....313
 Rolley, Elias W.....95
 Roosevelt, Franklin Delano.....75
 Roosevelt, Mrs. Franklin Delano.....75
 Roosevelt, Mrs. James.....146
 Root, A. K.....189
 Rose, George
 quoted.....186-87
 Rosedale, Miss.....67
 Rosenfield, Walter A.....22, 44, 313
 Rosenquist, Paul.....27
 Ross, Earle D.....305
 Rossi, Frank.....196
 Rothschild, Maurice L.....34
 Rouse, R.....192
 Rouse, R., Jr.....192
 Rouse's Opera Hall (Peoria, Ill.)...192
 Rowe, Ford F.....306
 Rozier, Ferdinand.....150n., 169n.
 Rozier, Firmin.....149
 Ruble, Mary.....96
 Rudolph, Emil.....29
 Rudolph's Opera House (Spring-
 field, Ill.).....193
 Ruemelin, Charles.....267
 Rumsey, Wallace D.....314
 Rush Medical College.....41
 Russel, Margaret.....385
 Russell, Miss Marion.....314
 Russell, Mrs. Nina Dulin.....92
 Russell, Sol Smith.....95
 Rutledge, Ann.....302
 Ruyle, J. B.....416
 Ryan, Dennis J.....199
 Sac Indians.....296
 Sadorus, Ann.....181
 Sadorus, George.....181
 Sadorus, Henry.....181
 Sadorus, Jane.....181
 Sadorus, John.....181
 Sadorus, Joseph.....181
 Sadorus, Mary.....181
 Sadorus, Sam.....181
 Sadorus, Sarilda.....181
 Sadorus, Sena.....181
 Sadorus, Simon.....181
 Sadorus, Susan.....181
 Sadorus, Will.....181
 St. Charles Historical Society.....98
 St. Clair County, Ill.
 Germans in.....7-20, 136-39
 mentioned.....177
 St. Louis, Mo....59, 61, 63, 69, 71, 195
St. Louis as a Fortified Town (book)...195
St. Louis Post-Dispatch.....333
 St. Luke's Hospital (Chicago).....46
 St. Thomas Mission (St. Louis,
 Mo.).....387

- Ste. Genevieve, Mo.
 ...70, 151, 166n., 167n., 168, 169
- Saline County, Ill.174n., 177
- Salkeld, Fred.95, 202
- Salt Lake, Great.302
- Sandburg, Carl.93, 405
- Sanders, A. D.392
- Sanders, L. A.98
- San Francisco, Calif.73
- Sangamon County, Ill.177
- Sangamon River. 301, 302, 393, 395, 396
- Sangamon, The* (book).301-302
- Sansone, Amerigo R.199
- Sauk Indians.57, 61, 240, 415
- Saxby, Charles A.93, 310
- Scanlan, William.55
- Schafer, Joseph.133, 135, 138, 139
- Scharwenka, Franz Xaver.141
- Schiller, Johann Christoph Fried-
 rich von.141
- Schmidt, ———.137
- Schmulbach, Mrs. S.308
- Schnackenberg, Elmer J.21, 313
- Schneider, George
 German Republican leader.
 ...133, 269, 270, 272n., 277, 285-86
- Schocker, Elsie.313
- Schoff, ———.137
- Schools
 history teaching in.213-15, 323-37
- Schori, Ward.308
- Schram, Emil.36
- Schroder, H.189
- Schroder's Opera House (Bloom-
 ington, Ill.).189
- Schuh, Mrs. J. P.314
- Schumann-Heink, Ernestine.140
- Schurz, Antoinette.321
- Schurz, Carl
 army officer.11, 135
 German leader.
 14, 133, 274, 275, 276n., 277
 mentioned.264, 273, 321
- Schuyler County Historical Society. 204
- Schwarz, J. G.413
- Schweppe, Charles H.46
- Scopes, John.83
- Scott, ———.137
- Scott, Dred.214
- Scott, John M.94
- Scott, Winfield.281
- Scott County, Ill.177, 295
- Scotti, Antonio.146
- Scripps, John Locke.117, 120, 127, 143
- Selby, Mary A.380
- Sembrich, Marcella.140
- Seminole Indians.301, 338
- Senachwine (Indian).87
- 75-Year Club (Belvidere, Ill.).307
- Seward, William H.135, 398
- Sewell, Harold.307
- Seymour, Horatio.408
- Shamberg, Lois.199
- Shashek, Dolores.96
- Shattuck, Frank.90
- Shattuck, L. Hubbard.89, 197
- Shaw, Anna Howard.293
- Shaw, William E.202
- Shawnee Indians.
 71, 152, 159, 160, 167n.
- Shawneetown, Ill.114, 169, 173, 306
- Shelby County, Ill.174n., 177
- Sheppard, Robert D.200
- Sheridan, Laura.381
- Sheridan, Mary.381
- Sheridan, Philip Henry.343
- Shields, James.361
- Shinn, Mrs. Margaret.417
- Shreve, Henry.88
- Shreveport, La.87
- Shriner, Emma E.312
- Shuey, Fae.414
- Shutes, Milton H.
 article by.73-74
- Sidell Woman's Club.416
- Siefferman, William H.414
- Sigel, Franz.135
- Simmons, Thomas.220
- Simpson, James, Jr.50
- Simpson, Matthew.120
- Sinnock, William H.313
- Sirokos, Bernice.91

- 60 Years a Builder* (book) 303-304
 Skidi Indians 70, 71
 Skinner, Mrs. Virginia Strawn . 200, 414
 Slattery, James M. 93
 Slaughter, James E. 342
 Slavery 272-73
 See also Abolition movement and
 Anti-slavery movement
 Sloan, A. L. 93
 Smeterlin, Jan. 146
 Smith, ——— 354
 Smith, David A. 411
 Smith, E. 189
 Smith, Mrs. Floyd 198, 412
 Smith, George W. 411
 Smith, Gerrit 217
 Smith, Harriet 96
 Smith, Hermon Dunlap 411
 Smith, Hugh 398
 Smith, Hyrum 302
 Smith, James 397-99
 Smith, "Dad" Joe 239
 Smith, Joseph 302, 303
 Smith, June C. 27
 Smith, O. C. 386
 Smith's Opera House (Decatur, Ill.) . 189
 Smoker, John 361, 362
 Smoker, John or Samuel 357, 360
 Smoker, Samuel 361, 362
 Snedeker, Mrs. Caroline Dale 306
 Snider, ——— 137
 Snow, Bernard W. 45
 Snyder, Franklyn B. 89
 Snyder, Ralph M. 314
Society in America (book) 400
 Socrates 396
 Soldiers (U. S. Army) 404
 Sons of Civil War Veterans 73
 Sorensen, Virginia 302
 South Shore Historical Society (Chicago) 91, 413
Southern Editorials on Secession (book) 195
 Southern Illinois Historical Society
 114, 204, 313, 416
 Soybeans 46
 Spanish
 on Arkansas R. 59, 61-68
 in Louisiana 58
 on Mississippi R. 59
 mentioned 69, 71
 Spanish-American War 345, 346
 Spanish American War Veterans . . . 97
 Spears, Barton W. 127
 Speed, Joshua 272
 Spencer, Levi 221, 228, 234n., 235
 Spooner, Harry L. 87
 Sprick, Harvey 313
 Springfield, Ill.
 airport 54
 Presbyterian Church, First 397
 rainfall, record 47
 mentioned 37, 74, 75, 302
 Spruit, C. 385
 Staack, Henry F. 313
 Stacy, Matthew 369
 Stagecoach travel 184-86, 247-48
 Stallo, John B. 274
 Standgher, ——— 362
 Stark County Historical Society . . . 416
 Stark County Old Settlers' Association 416
 Starnes, Arthur H. 49
 Starr, Chauncey 307
 Starr, Mrs. Chauncey 307
 Starved Rock 57
 Steinbrecher, Edith
 article by 321-22
 mentioned 417
 Steinbrecher, Paul 417
 Stelle, John 21, 40
 Stephenson, Benjamin 347
 Stephenson, Eleanor 367
 Stephenson, Ellen (Mrs. James W.) .
 356, 358, 359, 361, 367
 See also Kyle, Ellen
 Stephenson, George 90
 Stephenson, James W.
 in Black Hawk War 348-51
 death 366
 early life 347-48
 governor, candidate for 360-66

- in Ill. Senate.....353-55, 357
 Lands, Register of.....357-58
 local offices held by.....347-48, 351
 marriage.....355-56
 monument to.....367
 Stephenson, Kyle.....367
 Stephenson, Lucy.....367
 Stephenson County, Ill.....177
 Stephenson County Bank (Freeport,
 Ill.).....367
 Sterling, Ill.....256
 Stevens, B. N.....308
 Stevens, Mrs. F. W.....203
 Stevens, Jewell F.....411
 Stevens, Sylvester K.....109
 Stevens, Thad.....85
 Stevenson, Kate.....383
 Steward, Martha.....127
 Stewart, George Craig.....27
 Stewart, Ill.....292
 Stickney, E. S.....201
 Stidger, Felix Grundy.....408
 Stillman, Isaiah.....348
 Stillman's Run.....348
 Stitely, Mrs. Nana E.....97
 Stone, Clyde E.....416
 Stone, Irving.....83
*Storm Over the Land: A Profile of the
 Civil War* (book).....405
Story of Illinois, 1673-1940, The
 (pamphlet).....410
Story of John Deere, The (book).....301
 Stotlar, E. M.....98
 Straus, Robert E.....93
 Strawn's Opera House (Jacksonville,
 Ill.).....191
 Street, Washington Posey.....339, 340
 Strikes (Ill., 1941)
 American Car and Foundry Co...
 25, 26
 Chicago, city employees of.....21
 coal miners.....32, 35
 Cuneo Press.....23, 24
 International Harvester Co.....
 23, 24-25, 28, 31, 33-34
 Strode, James M.....351
 Stuart, James Ewell Brown.....341
 Sturtevant, Julian M.....369
 Stutzman, J. H.....202
 Sublette, Thomas.....350
 "Suckers" (Illinoisans).....237-38
 Sullivan, Denis E.....40
 Sullivan, Francis J.....34
 Sullivan, T. P.....40
 Sullivan, T. T.....198
 Supreme Court (Ill.)
 chief justice.....46
 decisions.....33, 47, 52
 election.....27
 reporter.....55
 Surratt, Anna.....86
 Sutter, John R.....96
 Suttron, Mrs. Walter.....314
 Swail, Gerard.....308
 Swail, Mrs. Gerard.....308
 Swales, David.....382
 Swan, Burr Harrison.....312
 Swan, Dot Dorsey.....312
 Swank, Florence Pusey.....98
 Swedish Historical Society of Rock-
 ford, Ill.....416
 Sweeney, Mrs. Grace R.....313
 Sweet, John Jay.....342, 343
 Swiler, J. W.....381
 Taft, Lorado.....199
 Tallant, Walter H.....199
 Tallant, Mrs. Walter H.....199
 Tamaroa Indians.....57, 58
 Tanner, Annie E.....381
 Tay, Lyman R.....95
 Taylor, C. W.....385
 Taylor, Mrs. C. W.....385
 Taylor, Deems.....108
 Taylor, Edwin S.....125
 Taylor, Mrs. Melvin.....307
 Taylor, Zachary.....281, 301
 Temperance cause.....255-57
 Tennessee River.....151
 Terhune, R. B.....97
 Terry, Mrs. Grace.....414
 Tewksbury, America.....181

- Tewksbury, Anne181
 Tewksbury, Charity181
 Tewksbury, Daniel Boone181
 Tewksbury, James181
 Tewksbury, Lovewell181
 Tewksbury, Martha181
 Tewksbury, Mary181
 Tewksbury, Mercy181
 Tewksbury, Ozias181
 Tewksbury, Simon181
 Tewksbury, Tennessee181
 Texas301
 Texas Company44
 Thatcher, Arthur413
 Thayer, Ill.34
They Knew Lincoln (book)86
 33rd Division, I. N. G.29, 37, 51
 Thomas, William368, 369
 Thompson, Frank G.22
 Thompson, Mrs. Hazel202
 Thompson, Jess M.312
 Thompson, Loyal M.95, 202
 Thucoits, C.137
 Thwaites, Reuben Gold307
 Tiffany, William C.193
 Tilton, Clint Clay202, 204
Tiskilwa Chief, The (newspaper)87
 Tittmann, Otto19
 Todd, Elizabeth P.340
 Tomera (Indian chief)58, 61
 Tompkins, S.231n.
 Tonti, Henri de60
 Totten, Nathan M.382
 Tower, Willis E.91, 309
 Townley, Wayne C.95, 202, 411
 Trails, early Illinois238-39, 246-48
 Trask, Cornelia380
 Treat, Samuel H.369
 Tremont House (Chicago)186
 Trendley, John308
 Tripp, Mrs. Arthur J.412
 Tripp, John90, 412
 Troeckler, Lucille96
 Trowbridge, Mrs. E. G.314
 Troy Grove, Ill.247
 Trumbull, Lyman264, 283
 Turner, Jonathan B.304, 305, 376
 Turner Hall (Ottawa, Ill.)192
 Twitchell, Mrs. James W.414
 "Two bits," origin of298
 Tywappity Bottom159, 169
 Underground Railroad231
 Underwood, W. L.398
Union Agriculturist, The
 quoted78
 Union Station (Chicago)29
 Unitarians254
 United Electric Coal Co. (DuQuoin,
 Ill.)26
 United Mine Workers of America . .
 32, 35, 49
 United States
 Agriculture, Dep't. of45
 Army77, 338-46, 404
 Circuit Court of Appeals50
 coal mining195
 Congress31, 37, 47
 United States Bank363, 364
 United States Military Academy
 (West Point)
 Ill. graduates in Civil War338-46
 United States Navy Home (Phila-
 delphia)225
 United States Navy Yard (New
 York)25
 Universalists254
 Universities
 history teaching in213-15, 323-37
 See also names of specific universi-
 ties
 Unzaga, Don Luis de63, 64, 68
 Updike, Mrs. Helen S.413
 Upham, Mary380
 Upton, Emory344
 Vallandigham, Clement L.408
 Van Buren, Martin301
 Vanderbilt, Mrs. Cornelius146
 Van Fleet, Frederick A.327
 Van Horne, John
 article by74-76

- Van Horne, Mrs. John..... 75
 VanNess, Thelma.....203
 Van Osdel, John M.....304
 Van Valkenburgh, Mrs. John...309
 Vassar, Matthew.....116
 Vermilion County, Ill.....177
 Vermilion County Historical Society.....98, 204
 Villard, Henry.....13, 15, 18
 Villard, Oswald Garrison
 article by.....7-20
 mentioned.....99
 Villars, Louis de.....71
 Villiers, Balthazar de
 commands Arkansas post....59, 66
 and Kaskaskia Indians.....67-70
 mentioned.....61, 71
 Virginia.....72
 Vrooman, Carl.....95

 Wabash River.....71
 Wade, Ben.....85
 Wagner, Cosima Liszt.....144, 146
 Wagner, Mrs. Fritz.....314
 Wagner, Wilhelm Richard.....144
 Wagoner, ——.....137
 Wait, Frances.....381
 Wait, Selah.....381
 Walker, Cyrus.....369
 Walker, Edyth.....140
 Walker, H. W.....416, 417
 Walker, S. Teft.....382, 384
 Walker, Mrs. S. Teft.....383
 Wall, Mrs. Nellie.....199
 Wallenius, Carl G.....416
 Wallis, W. W.....95
 Walsh, William Henry.....31
 Walters, R. D.....198
 Walton, Della.....385
 Wann, Daniel.....364n.
 Ward, William V.....27
 Warner, Mrs. H. C.....96
 Warner, Levi
 quoted.....243
 Warren, Charles.....214
 Warren, Fred.....412

 Warren, Mrs. Fred.....90
 Warren, G. K.....341
 Warren County, Ill.....219
 Washington, George...168n., 182, 296
 Washington, John E.....86
Washington (steamer).....88
 Waterloo, Ill.....55
 Waters, John.....218, 220, 231n.
 Waugh, J. Walter.....122
 Wayne County, Ill.....44
 Weatherford, William.....369
 Webber, Charles C.....301
 Weber, Harry P.....22
 Weber, Mrs. William.....310
 Webster, ——.....361
 Webster, Daniel.....214, 329, 364
 Weeks, Calvin T.....36
 Weese, Harry E.....94
 Weidling Brothers (Chicago)....190
 Weld, Theodore Dwight.....217
 Wellington, Duke of.....144
 Wendt, H.....272
 Wendt, Julia Braken.....310
 Wentworth, John.....277n., 281, 282
 Werner, Charles, & Co.....191
 West, Anna Allen.....289
 West, Nehemiah.....
 218, 228, 231n., 232, 233
 West, the (1840).....81-82
 West Belleville, Ill.....13
 West Frankfort, Ill.....44
 West Point
 See U. S. Military Academy (West Point)
 West Side Historical Society (Chicago).....91, 199, 309
 Westerfield, Peter.....220n.
 Western Powder Manufacturing Co. 51
 Westwick, J. W.....310
 Whalen, Charles Joseph.....32
 Wheeler, W. A.....413
 Wheeler, Mrs. W. A.....92, 414
 Wheeling.....66, 67
 Whig Party
 and Germans.265, 266, 267, 281, 287
 and Stephenson.....360-65

- mentioned 227, 229, 231
- Whipp, F. W. 386
- White, Carl M. 89
- White, Mrs. Charles 413
- White, Mrs. G. W. 203
- White, H. T. 386
- White, Julius 390-92
- White County, Ill. 29, 38, 56
- White River
 fur trade on 62, 63
 Indians seek land on 64, 66
 mentioned 59, 67, 68, 70
- Whitehead, J. B. 98
- Whitham, Minnie 197
- Whitney, Daniel G. 369
- Whittaker, Hettie 90
- Whittier, Mrs. C. C. 199
- Why Was Lincoln Murdered?* (book) . .
 409, 410
- Wickstrom, George W. 313
- Wight, A. G. S. 355, 364, 365
- Wilbur, Charles 376
- Wilcoxon, T. 190
- Wilcoxon Opera House (Freeport,
 Ill.) 190
- Wilkinson, Otway 369
- Will County, Ill. 227, 232
- Willard, Arthur Cutts 75
- Willard, Frances E.
 in Evanston . . 122, 124, 125, 127, 129
 and Mary Moreland . . 289, 290, 292
- Willard, Josiah 124
- Willcox, Orlando B. 340
- William, Alice 313
- Williams, C. L. 91
- Williams, Louis L. 95
- Williams, Oliver 313
- Williams, Samuel C. 409
- Williams, Sherman 231n., 232
- Williams, T. Harry 85
- Williamson, Booth 97
- Williamson County, Ill. 170n., 177
- Williamson County Historical So-
 ciety 98
- Willing, James 66, 70, 71
- Wilson, Charles L. 120
- Wilson, David 297
- Wilson, Harrison 343
- Wilson, James Harrison
 biographical sketch . . 343-44, 345-46
 mentioned 342
- Wilson, John A. 89
- Wilson, Katharine Schneyder 343
- Wilson, Woodrow 409
- Windes, Frank A. 314
- Windsor, Ill. 247
- Wingert, Mrs. E. E. 202
- Winn, L. L. 36
- Winnebago County, Ill. 230
- Winnebago County Historical So-
 ciety 98-99
- Winnetka Historical Society . . 204, 314
- Winter, John D. 359
- Wisconsin 133, 138, 139
- Wisconsin Historical Society 306
- Wisconsin River 240
- Wise, Floyd 50
- Without Fame* (book) 409-10
- Withrow, William E. 369
- Wittgenstein, Princess 143
- Wolf, A. 193
- Women's Relief Corps 97
- Wood, Mrs. Anne J. 313
- Wood, Ernest M. 313
- Wood, Frank L. 199
- Wood, S. Catherine 383
- Wood, S. Frances 381, 385
- Woodbury, W. W. R. 189
- Woodlawn (Chicago), Historical
 Society of 199
- Woods, John
 quoted 299-300
- Woods, John H. 381
- Woodward, R. C. 97
- Woolston, Robert W. 411
- Works Projects Administration
 archives inventory 174-78
 Chicago Project 194
 church records inventory . . 175, 178
 imprints check lists
 175, 176n., 178, 179
 manuscript calendar 175, 178

- World Anti-Slavery Convention . . . 221
- World War I Veterans 97
- World War II
 historical societies in
 107-14, 197, 198, 308, 410-11
- Illinois in 33, 40, 42, 54, 55
- soldiers' letters in 404
- study of history in 323-37
- World's Columbian Exposition . . .
 293, 304
- Worthington, Thomas 369
- Wright, John I. 314
- Wright, John S. 83
- Wright, Phineas C. 408
- Wright, Warren 22
- Wyanet, Ill.
 Mary L. Moreland in 288-94
- York, Gene 91
- Young, Brigham 302, 303
- Young's Hall (Joliet, Ill.) 191
- Younger, Mrs. Louise 417
- Ziesing, August 310
- Zimbalist, Efrem 140
- Zita, Empress (Austria-Hungary) . . 143
- Zuppke, Robert 51
- Zweibruecken, Germany 8, 9, 10

